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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Arms Control & Disarmament

U.S. Disarmament Talks Include Four Republics

OW2511114491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0743 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the 22 November "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belorussia officially agreed to participate, within the context of the Soviet delegation, in the Washington talks on the implementation of Mr. Bush's and Mr. Gorbachev's interlocking proposals that start on December 25 [date as received]. The same as at the recent first round of talks in Moscow, the Soviet and the U.S. delegations will be led by deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksey Obukhov and Deputy U.S. State Secretary Reginald Bartholomew respectively.

The Foreign Ministry told DP [Diplomatic Panorama] that the centre is currently in talks with the republics to choreograph their approaches to the issues of nuclear disarmament. Recently Mr. Obukhov, representatives of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and of the sovereign republics met for consultations at the Union Foreign Ministry. One of the diplomats said that the meeting had covered ways to reach consensus between the republics on the reduction of strategic and tactical armaments. Though there are some differences between the centre and Russian leadership on these issues, the main thing is that all parties without exception are aware of the need for progress within the framework of this process.

Russia's proposals on nuclear disarmament are more radical than those of the centre, but this is no problem, said a RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Foreign Ministry source to DP. He emphasized that Russia's special considerations would find their way into the Union position that has been fine-tuned for the Washington round. "We will not speak on behalf of the entire Union," said the Russian diplomat.

Further on Discussion

LD2611091591 Moscow TASS in English 0851 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Stanislav Lunev]

[Text] Washington November 26 TASS—Soviet-U.S. consultations on arms limitation and reduction issues began at the U.S. Department of State on Monday [25 November] night.

The consultations, which are a continuation of the bilateral dialogue launched in this respect by the Soviet Union and the United States in October this year, deal primarily with a wide range of disarmament issues, primarily those arising from the reciprocal initiatives to this effect by U.S. President George Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, the initiatives are dated September 27 and October 5, 1991, respectively.

The Soviet side at the consultations is headed by Deputy Foreign Minister Alexey Obukhov and the U.S. side by Reginald Bartholomew, U.S. undersecretary of state.

The Soviet delegation includes representatives of four sovereign republics: Belorussia, Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation and the Ukraine.

For several days participants in the consultations are expected to exchange information on the two sides' actions to implement the initiatives of the Soviet and U.S. presidents, discuss the setting up of an expert group on nuclear security issues, and consider a wide range of strategic stability issues.

Yakut Region Declares Ban on Nuclear Activity

PM2511155391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 91 First Edition p 7

[Correspondent Nikolay Belyy report: "Yakutia Is a Nuclear-Free Zone"]

[Text] Only recently has the secret of the Land of the Soviets' third nuclear test range (apart from Semipalatinsk and Zapolyarnyy on Novaya Zemlya) been revealed. It operated in the high latitudes of Yakutia. Twelve nuclear explosions were staged there.

A session of the Yakutia parliament recently passed a resolution declaring Russia's largest republic a nuclear-free zone. Henceforth the production, siting, storage, and testing of nuclear weapons and their components, the use of nuclear weapons for peaceful purposes, the development of fissionable material, and the manufacture of radioactive products there are banned.

Worldwide Issues

International Military Conference Opens 25 Nov

New Military Doctrine Discussed

LD2511213491 Moscow TASS in English 1834 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaisky]

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—None of the existing countries or military blocks have been named as a potential enemy in a new military doctrine being developed by the Soviet Defence Ministry, Sergey Bogdanov, head of the Soviet Defense Ministry Center for Strategic Research, said.

The statement was made at the international conference "Armed Forces and Military Service in a Law-Governed State" that opened near Moscow on Monday [25 November].

Under the doctrine, the country's security will include three levels: national (security of sovereign states), regional (cooperation with NATO, the Asia-Pacific region and European countries) and global (cooperation with U.N. to secure international military-political stability).

The conference is being attended by scientists, military officials, political scientists and public figures from 20 countries.

Among the participants are Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy, Soviet Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov and chief of the Soviet General Staff Vladimir Lobov.

International Security Viewed

LD2611052191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2105 GMT 25 Nov 91

[V. Vinogradov report; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Military generals from different countries got together in Petrovo-Dalneye today to work on a concept of international security. NATO and the USSR are no longer enemies, but their armies have not become fraternal yet. A question was asked: Maybe there are no more enemies? Unfortunately, a danger still exists; it can take the shape of outbursts of nationalism or religious feuds. If this danger does arise it can only be overcome by joint efforts.

The example of the Iraq-Kuwait war has shown that cooperation is possible at the international level. Our society is going through a critical phase; leaders are changing and borders are being altered, actions which could take place far from peacefully. NATO has changed its military doctrines, whereas the former USSR has still not even tackled the issue. Despite meetings between the ministers of defense of sovereign states, a uniform military policy has not been formed. Economic, national, and religious factors are influencing attitudes toward defense in the republics.

Academician Yuriy Ryzhov has therefore proposed that it is necessary to develop a regime of quick response to conflict situations, but the regime must be ensured primarily by political measures. This need is dictated by the hectic formation of national armies and the possibility of their participation in armed conflicts, specifically between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The supremacy of civil authorities does not safeguard the democratic goals of an army. Presidential armies could become as authoritarian as under military regime conditions. This was something Western generals and Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy mentioned with concern in their welcoming addresses to the conference. In a law-based state the army must be controlled by power structures. This is a complex problem, but the goal is peace.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gives Briefing

LD2511180691 Moscow TASS in English 1726 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Aleksander Krolikov and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on Monday [25 November] met Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin told a briefing here today.

Shevardnadze welcomed his Iranian counterpart's intention to visit Soviet sovereign republics.

Churkin said Soviet and U.S. experts will gather in Washington today for U.S.-Soviet consultations on the limitation and reductions of armaments.

The sides will discuss the implementation of initiatives launched by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush. They are also expected to set up an expert group for nuclear safety and strategic stability, Churkin said.

Churkin welcomed the release of British citizen Ian Richter, who had been hold in a Iraqi prison for more than five years.

The spokesman expressed regret over the tragic accident in the centre of Eastern Timor. He also voiced hope the invigoration of Portuguese-Indonesian consultations under the aegis of the U.N. secretary-general will help solve this problem.

Commenting on the results of a recent Soviet-PLO meeting in Moscow, Churkin said it focused on prospects for the Middle East settlement. Shevardnadze and the PLO delegation also discussed the situation in the Middle East in light of efforts to reach Arab-Israeli settlement. The sides agreed to continue bilateral contacts.

Speaking about economic sanctions against Yugoslavia, Churkin said "we should be careful" about them. He said such extreme means are not indispensable for reaching peace and ending the civil war in Yugoslavia.

Churkin praised the U.S. State Department's decision announced on Friday [22 November] to lift discriminatory restrictions banning Soviet journalists from attending briefings at the State Department.

G-7 Finance Forum Opens in Tokyo

LD2511140291 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo November 25 TASS—The finance strategy of the world's seven leading industrial nations and their policy towards the Soviet Union will be discussed at a two-day meeting of former finance ministers and the heads of the central financial institutions of the Group of Seven countries, which opened in Tokyo today.

The forum is being attended by prominent politicians, representatives of business and financial communities and the West's leading brain trusts, who are directly instrumental in shaping their governments' policy.

The forum's "Soviet section" is expected to examine topical problems concerning Western aid to the Soviet Union, head of the Sakhalin administration's Foreign Relations Department Sergey Grinko told TASS.

Participants in the forum will exchange views on guarantees of the Soviet Union's effective use of the large-scale foreign aid when and if such aid is extended to the country.

Representatives of the G-7 financial quarters will also seek to decide who to aim at in realizing their projects of aid to the USSR—the center or the sovereign republics—and whether the West should gradually shift its attention from central Soviet authorities to the sovereign republics and how intense this process should be.

In addition participants in the gathering are planning an exchange of views on the possible issue of new currency in sovereign republic of the former USSR, as well as on Western participation in the Russian project for privatizing enterprises.

Other Soviet representatives attending the forum include the Russian president's senior economic adviser Konstantin Kagalovskiy, chairman of the Ukrainian Economic Reform Committee Vladimir Pilipchuk and the Sakhalin administration head Valentin Fedorov.

Discussion at the forum are likely to be largely confidential, judging by the fact that its organisers have planned no news conference even after the forum ends.

Embassy, Consulate Closures Expected in Africa

OW2511170591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1435 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] 9 Soviet embassies and 11 consulates to be closed for economy reasons are largely in Africa. IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent learned this from reliable sources and latest reports in the Soviet press.

The Ministry for External Relations has declined to reveal the list of Soviet missions to be closed because it was not endorsed by the highest leadership yet. Besides, there are fears that this will spark a negative response in African countries with which corresponding consultations are to be conducted.

European Bank Chief Cited on Union Loans Risk

PM2511155991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Nov 91 First Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Creditors' Risk"]

[Text] The time taken for the Soviet economy to get out of the crisis will largely depend on whether the leaders of the sovereign republics making up the USSR succeed in elaborating a joint position. This was stated by Mario Sarcinelli, vice president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD], in conversation with journalists in Rome.

Touching on the question of the Soviet Union's foreign debt, M. Sarcinelli stressed in particular that under the current difficult conditions in the USSR it is necessary to protect Western creditors' interests. "Any creditor takes a risk in lending out money," the EBRD vice president noted, "but I think that the risk of losing money in the Soviet Union is increasing."

Commentary Assesses NATO Exercise

PM2511153991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[TASS-attributed article by Captain Second Rank V. Gusev under the "Observer's Comments" rubric: "'North Star' Not Dimming..."]

[Text] The final North Star-91 exercise by the NATO allied naval forces has ended in the Atlantic and the North European theater of operations. I think that KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers will find it interesting to look at the NATO naval forces' actions during past exercises from the viewpoint of the changed situation in the world.

The North Star exercise is held in the Atlantic and the North European theater in alternate years. The first was in 1989. This year's—the second—is comparable in terms of the size of the tasks rehearsed with the NATO allied naval forces' final Team Work maneuvers.

Heightened interest in this exercise was undoubtedly prompted by the fact that a lot has been said in the West for almost a whole year about the fact that the Soviet Union is no longer regarded as an enemy and that NATO strategy must change. And indeed, the basic concepts of the strategy were discussed in both the United States and Europe, were examined during the work of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group, and were finally officially confirmed at the Rome NATO Council session. To what extent have the political declarations and intentions been reflected in the nature and thrust of the combat training of the bloc's troops and naval forces, has the brightness of the "North Stars" been reduced?

As reported in the foreign press, the objective of the exercise was to check and rehearse the plans for the operational deployment and combat use of NATO allied naval forces in the first operations of the initial period of a conventional war in the Atlantic and Europe. Taking part were 20 combined commands and staffs up to 17,000 personnel, 60 warships and auxiliary ships, and over 220 warplanes and helicopters of the naval aviation and air forces of the United States, Britain, Canada, Norway, the Netherlands, and the FRG, plus men and materiel of the NATO allied air defenses in Europe and of the Icelandic region of North American continental air defenses. The exercise was directed by American Admiral P. [initial as published] Edney, NATO Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic, and the forces at sea were commanded by U.S. Vice Admiral M. Kalleres, commander of the U.S. 2d Fleet.

Unfortunately, the operational-strategic plan was based on a scenario of a deteriorating situation which came came straight out of cold war training plans. The USSR Armed Forces ("Orange") were assigned the role of... the attacking side. The USSR was supposedly seeking to solve its internal problems by seizing the territory of highly developed Western countries. To this end "it had moved its ground forces up to the Norwegian border" and "massed a major submarine grouping in the Norwegian Sea." The "Blues" were to detect promptly "Orange" war preparation and start deploying wartime NATO allied naval forces groupings in the forward zone of the Atlantic with the further task of assisting the ground forces in northern Norway and striking against "Orange" naval forces at sea, on the coast, and on airfields.

The exercise was carried out in two stages, preceded by a preparatory period. It is noteworthy that the NATO military leadership paid the greatest attention to this. Its duration (21 days) was four times longer than each subsequent stage of the exercise. The preparatory period rehearsed measures to bring the forces up to heightened degrees of combat readiness, to deploy wartime control organs and communications systems, and to form NATO allied naval forces sea and air task forces, and to promptly deploy them in the Atlantic forward zone.

The first stage of the exercise (five days) rehearsed the tasks of bringing the forces up to higher stages of combat readiness, completing the formation of the NATO strike force, and its crossing of the Faroe-Shetlands line in conditions of opposition from "Orange" submarines and aircraft.

The second stage of the exercise (five days) rehearsed the tasks of winning and maintaining supremacy in the Norwegian Sea, ensuring the carrier battle group operating in Vestfjorden was able to counter the enemy, and giving assistance to the ground forces in the coastal sector. In particular, ships of an operational missile group comprising two Ticonderoga-class guided-missile cruisers and two Spruance-class destroyers carried out strikes on "Orange" shore targets using tomahawk missiles armed with conventional charges.

On the whole it has to be admitted that the number of tasks actually rehearsed during the NATO Naval Forces' North Star exercise was down on similar exercises in former years. Mine warfare and convoy operations were practiced using the command and staff method or with the employment of the minimum forces. These tasks are important, but they are less significant than the tasks of carrying out strikes, which were rehearsed to almost the full extent. The operational-tactical standards for the use of forces, weapons, and technical systems were checked and confirmed during the exercise.

The nature of the tasks rehearsed during North Star-91 showed yet again that the U.S. forward-based naval strategy and NATO naval strategy operating at the present stage are not, despite considerable positive changes, undergoing substantial revision and remain offensive in nature. In short, the "stars" which guide the ships taking part in NATO maritime exercises have only slightly dimmed. On the whole they remain quite bright.

United States & Canada

Summary of Gorbachev U.S. Magazine Interview

PM2611095791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 91 Union Edition pp 1,3

[TASS report on Gorbachev U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT interview: "U.S. Magazine Chief Editor Interviews USSR President"]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Nov—Mikhail Gorbachev: "We need the Union, because the inner logic of our development requires it, and this, at the same time, is one of the strategic buttresses of the development of the world as a whole." The USSR president said this in an interview with U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT chief editor Mortimer Zuckerman, which the magazine intends to publish on 25 November. We are providing the main points of the interview.

Concerning the Union

Mikhail Gorbachev fully supports the right of every people and every republic to self-determination. "However, our country is a unique human community, although, of course, any country is unique," he said. "This fabric, this country was created over a thousand years, and all things in it are so intertwined, interrelated—history, culture, common traditions, human ties, blood ties, common lives, division of labor, collaboration in industry and science. So if we start to split up, the process will be so painful that it would be catastrophic in current conditions."

The president is deeply convinced that: "Peoples and republics certainly have the right to self-determination, but this right should be realized not through division, not through separation, but through redistribution of powers and thorough reform of the Union, through the transition from the unitary state that we used to have, although called a Union, a federation, to a real Union of Sovereign States, wherein each state would possess great political, economic, and cultural freedom, wherein each people would have greater freedom, but, at the same time, natural ties would be preserved, whose viability is justified by their long history."

Concerning the Ukraine

The president stated that many republics have already declared independence. There are many people, of course, who believe that independence means separation, secession. "But in our conditions, where republics are declaring their independence, it gives them freedom to make a voluntary decision, to make a choice—to be in the Union and participate in the creation of this new Union, or to break away. So, in itself, independence is the basis of free choice, the basis of a voluntary decision," he said.

Answering a question about the Ukraine, Mikhail Gorbachev expressed confidence that "the present Ukraine will remain and will get a second wind." "But I believe it will remain, precisely through its participation in the creation of the new Union. But if certain forces succeed in inciting it to isolate itself from the other republics, from Russia above all, then, as I said 18 months or two years ago, the Ukraine could encounter massive problems in its development," he stressed.

"Quite different decisions are already being made in response to what the advocates of separatism are inciting the Ukraine to do. We can hear the voices of those who advocate the preservation of the Union," the president said. He noted that the "latest public opinion polls in various republics and regions of the country show that the proportion of those that advocate a Union is now greater than it was some months ago during the referendum, including in Kiev."

The president is convinced that: "It is impossible even to imagine the Ukraine's actually leaving the Union." "Because that would be a tragedy, a major tragedy for the Union, but an even greater tragedy, a disaster for the Ukraine."

Concerning the Armed Forces

Mikhail Gorbachev stated once again that there is no danger of a relaxation of control of nuclear weapons. "The issue does not exist, and no one would argue with that," he added.

If there is any debate, it is only over the structure of the Armed Forces and to what extent the republics' role has to change for them to be able to exercise a greater influence on the formation and management of the Armed Forces. "But we will tackle these questions within the framework of our ongoing military reform, and that is normal," the president said.

"Meeting with representatives of the U.S. Administration, I said that we were interested in cooperation with the United States, in the United States' sharing with us technology for the destruction of armaments, including nuclear weapons—strategic and tactical—and particularly chemical weapons. The pace at which we eliminate weapons here and implement parallel and coordinated initiatives will also depend on this. As I understand it from my discussions with representatives of the administration, such a discussion is both necessary and possible," the president said.

Concerning Economic Development

Describing the past, Mikhail Gorbachev said that the administrative edict system was already defunct by the beginning of the eighties. People were not getting a proper return on their efforts, on the vast resources the command system was swallowing up. But that is not all. The arms race led to massive distortion of the economy. And there is more still: The total domination of state property essentially destroyed natural motivation and the incentive to work. Wage leveling and lack of initiative were other results. A certain type of worker emerged, one who was, in essence, totally unmotivated.

The economy was increasingly dependent on the pumping of more and more resources into production. Even after the world oil crisis, which made many countries introduce resource-saving technologies, we continued to squander our resources. But the growth of manpower came to an end. The demographic situation had changed and we became short of people.

Although, Gorbachev noted, can one really talk about our having a manpower shortage when U.S. industrial productivity is 2.5 times greater than ours and U.S. agricultural productivity is five times greater?

"It is inconceivable that we should return to the past," the president stated anew. "But the question on how to move forward has to be decided by society itself. I believe it is necessary to move forward, above all through property reform and the creation of a mixed econonmy, in which there will be various forms of ownership and there will be scope for competition."

"I believe that if we give everyone an opportunity through property reform, by stimulating enterprise, and, at the same time, by giving workers a share in ownership, so that each has a real interest, and if, at the same time, we ensure that people have adequate social protection, then our reform and the transition to the market will not be so painful for people. Then, I believe, we will be able to proceed more confidently along the road of liberalization of prices. We have now gotten to the stage where all this has to be done simultaneously. But one thing is clear: There is no going back." The president also stressed that "we cannot get by without the world economy's experience." He cited the recent experience of Mexico, Brazil, and the East European countries as an example.

Concerning Agriculture

Answering the question why efforts had not been focused on agriculture, Mikhail Gorbachev said that between 1982, when the food program and the program of agrarian sector reform began to be implemented, and 1989, agriculture progressed and developed. But it was unable to reach the level that is possible given our resources and it still failed to satisfy people's needs.

"Now we come to a more general question. A systematic approach is needed. The entire system, the entire economy have to be changed. A new structural policy is needed, one geared to the consumer," the president said and put the rhetorical questions: "What can be done in the agrarian sector if we are not producing the proper agricultural machinery and herbicides, if social standards in the countryside are extremely low and terms of exchange between the agrarian and other sectors of the economy are unfair? What can be done when the processing industry is so backward that we are losing 30 percent of what the peasants produce?"

He stressed that "we appreciate the need for more profound economic reforms, reform of the system." "We have to find a new spring, in order to find essentially a new system and make it work."

Concerning Foreign Policy Activity

Asking another question, Mortimer Zuckerman said that worldwide M. Gorbachev had gained the "highest authority as a respected and very popular political leader." How, he asked the president, did you establish relations of trust and cooperation with the Western leaders who were initially skeptical, particularly Presidents Reagan and Bush. "Like you, President Bush has had brilliant foreign policy successes, but has encountered problems in domestic economic affairs. What comment do you have to make on this and what advice do you have, perhaps, for other presidents who encounter similar problems?" the editor asked.

"I think that if successes actually have been achieved in the foreign policy sphere, if the countries' leaders have been able to change the international situation and this has made disarmament measures, reduction of military expenditure, expansion of economic and scientific-technical cooperation and so on possible, they should not be criticized for this." Mikhail Gorbavhev said. "Actually, when we act we are all not only thinking about our presidential term, but are looking ahead, and we know that major changes are difficult, that they take time. Indeed, it is necessary to alter the inertia of events, the old inertia, and replace it with a new one that can give positive results."

"Although we are indeed going through a period of economic difficulties and are implementing profound economic reforms, and the United States is also encountering certain problems in its own economy, all this is taking place in an international environment, where relations between our countries and in the world as a whole are positive," Mikhail Gorbachev said. "This gives all of us the opportunity to concentrate on our internal problems, seek solutions, and think about the interests and needs of future generations as well as the present one."

Concerning the development of his relations with Reagan and Bush, M. Gorbachev said: "I see them as good partners, people with whom I have friendly ties."

"We cooperated in a spirit of goodwill in the settlement of very complex international conflicts. And we arrived at the conviction that we are a single civilization, but that each country makes its own choice and lives in its own way. In the process of the quest for a new dialogue, for concrete steps to improve the situation, trust emerged," the USSR president stated. "I very much hope that the process we started will be preserved, because without the new relationship with the United States nothing would have happened, nothing would have changed in Europe and in the world as a whole. And I hope that in the present complex period, where the process of change is affecting the whole world, cooperation and mutual understanding between our two countries will continue and will be developed further," he concluded.

Shevardnadze, Baker Discuss Mideast Conference

LD2511231791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2158 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY agency reported today that, in a telephone conversation with U.S. Secretary of State Baker, Shevardnadze, USSR minister of external relations, supported the U.S. proposal to hold direct talks between Israel and the Arabs in Washington on 4 December. Invitations to participate in these talks have been sent to Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and the Palestinians following agreement by the USSR and the United States as the cochairmen of the Near East conference.

Moscow To Host Next Round of Strategic Talks

OW2511154091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1435 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The next round of Soviet-American consultations on strategic stability issues will be held in Moscow in January, First Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy has told IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent.

With reference to the 1st round of such consultations held in Washington last week, V. Petrovskiy said that the two sides managed "to conduct an informal but detailed conversation on the changes taking place in the world today."

The main thing is not only to get an insight into these changes, but also plan joint actions to prevent these changes from upsetting international stability, Petrovskiy pointed out.

U.S. Agrees To Send Food Aid to Republics

PM2611102591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 91 p 4

[Vladislav Drobkov "Topical Theme": "United States Ready To Give Help Not to a Disintegrating Union but Directly to Independent Republics"]

[Text] Washington, 20 Nov—The U.S. Administration has finally determined the scale and form of additional food aid to the Soviet Union. As has become known in Washington, a program of state-guaranteed credits for the purchase of U.S. grain, direct food supplies, and technical assistance in modernizing the Soviet food industry is going to be announced in the next few days.

The total volume of this program, an addition to the existing U.S. commitments, is around $1.5 billion. This is considerably less than the amount of food aid requested by the Soviet leadership from the United States and the G-7 countries. And it is less than the amount expected from the United States by Western Europe and Japan, which are discussing the possibility of dividing the overall aid "package" expected by Moscow. Finally, it is less than expected by those who supported more substantial aid to us from Washington, mainly those representing the interests of the grain-producing states. Robert Strauss, the U.S. ambassador to Moscow, has also advocated more significant aid to the USSR. He has stated that he will urge the administration to increase the scale of additional food supplies and financial and technical assistance to the Soviet economy.

At the moment, however, Washington, by all accounts, does not intend expanding significantly the scale of aid to our country. There are several reasons for this, but the main one is surely the increasing preelection criticism of the Bush administration for what political opponents, both on the right and the left, see as its excessive enthusiasm for international affairs to the detriment of domestic affairs. In fact, all the rivals for the presidency, both those who have declared themselves and the potential candidates—the elections are due next year—condemn the incumbent President for a readiness to help other countries at a time when the United States itself has entered a period of economic instability with the concomitant aggravation of social tension. "How are the poor in Harlem any worse than the poor in Moscow?" is roughly how an increasing number of voters here argue. The Republican administration simply cannot ignore such feelings.

However, it is not the comparatively limited scale of the new U.S. aid program to the USSR but the proposed forms of giving that aid which have attracted particular attention from local observers. This is the first time that the Bush administration intends giving aid not to the leadership of the USSR but directly to the independent republics. In the new program the center is assigned the role of coordinator. THE WASHINGTON POST writes that this "emphasizes the administration's recognition of the disintegration of central government in the Soviet Union."

It is noteworthy that aid will be given to the republics on the condition that they assume commitments to repay the credits that are being granted to them.

As commentators here note, President Bush resisted until the last moment the demands of many influential politicians, both in the administration and in Congress, to begin dealing directly with the republics. In THE WASHINGTON POST's opinion, on the one hand the U.S. President did not want to undermine the position of M.S. Gorbachev, with whom he has established firm mutual relations, and, on the other, he was afraid of becoming embroiled in the internal confrontation between the republics and the center. But as is now clear, the administration has to make a final choice and is doing so. Previously, the United States decided to give humanitarian aid to the republics only in the form of medicines. Now it is the turn of food and financial and technical assistance.

What will be the next step? Direct contacts with the republics on problems of security and international relations?

At the moment, Washington is strenuously denying such a prospect. People here are seriously afraid that the disintegration of the Union will lead to the gradual distribution of nuclear weapons among the republic armies—the final attribute of a major power, which has always been given special attention in any U.S. plans.

Until recently, official spokesmen of the Bush administration publicly advocated that the Union retain the status of the only possible participant in a dialogue on military questions and, in particular, nuclear ones. Incidentally, a group of prestigious Soviet representatives headed by A.N. Yakovlev arrived in Washington on 19 November for consultations with the Americans on problems of strategic stability. The group included the advisers to the USSR and Russian presidents, Ye.M. Primakov, director of the USSR Central Intelligence Service, and members of the leadership of the Union ministries of external relations and defense. The consultations will be held in the framework of the accords reached between G. Bush and M.S. Gorbachev—the only Soviet leader with whom he has had dealings in the security sphere recently. The question is whether Washington, which like all of us is witnessing the gradual transfer of the levers of power in the USSR from the center to the republics, is revising this position, too.

Many people are asking that question right now, and not only in the United States, of course.

Wheat Arrives in Maritime Kray

LD2311155391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0927 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Leonid Vinogradov]

[Text] Nakhodka (Maritime Kray), 22 Nov (TASS)—U.S. grain from the new harvest has begun to arrive in the Far East from Washington State.

Today 12,500 tonnes of U.S. wheat were delivered at the port of Nakhodka on board the freighter Kapitan Vasilevskiy. The wheat will then be taken to the flour grinding mills of Siberia, Khabarovsk and Maritime Krays, and Sakhalin Oblast.

The Nakhodka commercial port has learned that several more ocean-going transport ships carrying wheat from across the sea are expected, which will enable the people of Siberia and the Far East to alleviate to a considerable extent the problem of the bread grain shortage in the coming winter.

More on Food Aid

PM2611114091 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2140 GMT 22 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast]

[Text] New details are coming from the United States of the emergency food aid package for the USSR. Thirty-thousand tons of pork—this is the figure mentioned in connection with this aid program; this is the quantity requested by Soviet officials.

U.S. meat trade specialists say that the deliveries will mostly comprise cheaper cuts of pork. The deliveries will also include chicken portions and chicken legs, jokingly known here as Bush's legs.

China

PRC 'White Book' on Human Rights Viewed

PM2511103191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 91 Union Edition p 3

[Correspondent Yu. Savenkov report: "Only the Tactics Are Different; China Publishes 'White Book' on Human Rights"]

[Text] Beijing—For several days now China's central newspapers have been publishing the complete text of a lengthy "White Book" on human rights in China (45,000 characters) published by the PRC State Council Information Department.

This department appeared quite recently and sees its mission as being to "improve China's image" in the world community and promote understanding of the processes developing in the country. In observers' opinion, the appearance of this document—on which specialists from many ministries and departments have been working for a long time—shows that China is obviously changing its tactics.

Until quite recently the problem of human rights was considered to be a "bourgeois concept" and an "instrument of hegemonism." But since last year, officials have begun to display a more favorable attitude to discussions on this subject with high-level foreign visitors. In July this year, a group of human rights campaigners came to China as an official delegation for the first time ever. It has been followed by others. Admittedly, the Chinese Government rejected a report by an Australian group which spoke of human rights violations in China (including repressions in Tibet). But a dialogue has begun. Many official guests have expressed the idea that laws on human rights must guarantee citizens' basic freedoms.

And this is China's response. The "White Book" reaffirms the PRC's stand: The most important thing for the Chinese is the right to existence—the right to food, clothing, and a roof over their head. As Zhu Muchi, head of the State Council Information Department, said in an interview with XINHUA, the Chinese people fought for this right for a whole century. Imperialist aggression and the oppression of feudalism and bureaucratic capital deprived people of the right to life for a long time, and some human rights were simply unattainable. Only after the PRC's appearance on the political map did the nation win independence and destroy the system of exploitation, which made it possible for the people to really exercise their civil rights.

But, Zhu Muchi continued, reality is such that even in modern-day China—which must feed and clothe 22 percent of the world's population despite having only seven percent of the planet's cultivable land—the right to existence still dominates all other rights. After all, China is a developing country, its national might is limited, and its economy and people's living standards are still at a comparatively low level. Moreover, world peace is still a remote ideal. National security and the right to existence are still threatened by wars and natural disasters. Consequently the greatest wish of the Chinese people is to maintain national stability and focus efforts on implementing socialist modernization. That is the main thrust of the document.

It also clearly expresses the idea that the problem of human rights is used for political purposes and that the ideology of one country is foisted on another. In this case, the problem becomes interference in other countries' internal affairs and a demonstration of the policy of strength. As far as the "White Book" is concerned, the international community has reason to interfere only in cases of scandalous human rights violations stemming from colonialism, racism, foreign aggression and occupation, apartheid, racial discrimination, genocide, and the slave trade and in serious human rights violations by international terrorist organizations.

The "White Book" makes another interesting point. A new world order is coming into being. But the world is more troubled than before. Hegemonism and the policy of strength still threaten peace and development. In these conditions China is prepared to work with the rest of the world community to implement the UN idea of protecting human rights and basic freedoms.

Many diplomats in Beijing believe that the "White Book" is a step forward in China's stand on human rights, although some of its arguments are unconvincing. For example: As the PRC's rights in the United Nations were only restored in 1971, the country is not obliged to abide by international human rights conventions adopted in 1966. The theory on dual standards in the approach to human rights has also given rise to objections. In his interview with XINHUA, Zhu Muchi insisted that there cannot be a common criterion in the approach to human rights when countries' historical conditions, national and cultural traditions, and moral values differ. Hence the need for different interpretations and different requirements with regard to human rights.

The timing of the book's publication is possibly no accident. The document was supposed to appear in spring, when human rights were the subject of debate in U.S. Congress. The question of extending China's most-favored-nation status was also being decided at the time. But when President Bush decided to extend that status for another year—despite objections by some congressmen—China decided there was no hurry over the "White Book." Its publication has been timed to coincide with U.S. Secretary of State Baker's visit to China in the mid-November, which it is hoped will see a return to the level of relations between Beijing and Washington that existed before the Tiananmen tragedy.

The "White Book" contains information on all points of contention between China and the West. These include problems such as freedom of religion, family planning policy, political rights, and the rights of ethnic minorities, including the Tibet problem. In particular, it claims that China has no political prisoners. This is disputed by many witnesses, however, so the problem remains on the agenda.

One way or another, China is changing its tactics. Human rights are now openly discussed. The campaign is not only aimed at world public opinion. It is also aimed at the Chinese people to try to persuade them that the problem of civil rights must be seen in its historical perspective, on the basis of China's specific conditions.

'Warming' in U.S.-PRC Relations Noted

*92UF0218A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Nov 91 p 5*

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent B. Barakhta: "Winding Path—United States-China: Some Aspects of Their Relations"]

[Text] Beijing—*It has been announced in Beijing that U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker will be arriving here in the next few days for a visit.*

Both the capital of the PRC and Washington are placing big hopes in the trip by the head of the American foreign policy department. Too many unsettled issues have accumulated in bilateral relations. The unpredictable changes in the international arena are happening too quickly at times. The alignment of forces is changing too rapidly.

Chinese-American relations have developed very, very unevenly in recent years. Surges of bilateral activity have been replaced by a lull and, at times, by ebbs also. The times of the Reagan presidency were obviously the high point.

The Reagan administration endeavored to draw China into the sphere of its influence and plug the PRC into American strategy in the Asia-Pacific region. Such a powerful lever of influence as trade and economic relations was activated.

Following a two-year delay, the United States accorded Beijing the status of "friendly and allied state." Trade turnover between the two countries was increasing annually by more than 60 percent. The United States moved into third place after Hong Kong and Japan in trade with China. Programs of cooperation in the scientific-technical, cultural, and other spheres were drawn up. Over 10,000 Chinese undergraduates and graduate students went to the United States to acquire an education.

There was a mutual desire, it seemed, to establish close mutual relations. But this was only an outward impression, far removed from reality.

Wide-ranging reforms gained momentum in China in the mid-1980's. Hard currency credit, advanced technology, and batched equipment for the new plants and factories being built were required. A policy of openness was proclaimed, and a multi-structural economy strengthened and developed.

The showcase of Chinese-American trade and economic cooperation was and remains the first joint venture—the Beijing Jeep Company, founded in 1983. This is also a proving ground, where on an area of 370,000 square meters new forms and methods of management and business partnership with American businessmen are tested.

Approximately 69 percent of the joint venture belongs to the Chinese side, little more than 31 percent, to the American Chrysler Corporation. A Cherokee jeep, the components and parts for which are delivered by sea from the United States, comes off the assembly line every five minutes.

The polished glass of a showcase frequently serves as a pretty good mirror reflecting by no means what people want to show. This was the case with the Chinese-American automotive enterprise also.

From the start right through the present, the company has in practice been unprofitable and is kept afloat thanks to subsidies. The Chrysler Corporation hoped to conquer the vast Chinese market with the Cherokee jeep and break through into other automobile markets of the Asia-Pacific region. The use of inexpensive manpower seemed attractive.

These far-reaching plans have not been justified. The production costs of the Chinese Cherokee considerably exceed the selling price of its American twin. The labor of the Chinese worker has proven several times less productive than of those employed on the Chrysler assembly lines. For a complete picture consider the low qualifications and swollen lists of staff of both the workers and managers.

Nor have the hopes of the Chinese side been justified. Beijing hoped with the aid of Chrysler and American Government credit to make a sharp surge forward in the national automobile industry and to obtain progressive equipment and technology. But things have not progressed beyond components. The assembly of the Cherokee is practically manual, using a minimum of automated equipment.

But why, for all that, is the American side continuing to hold on at the joint venture and why up to the start of the summer of 1989 were bilateral trade and economic relations experiencing a boom?

Some time around the start of the 1960's Deng Xiaoping said: "It doesn't matter what color the cat is as long as it is a good mouser." With the start of reforms this came to be a celebrated saying. Washington, to judge by everything, analyzed it together with such steps by the PRC leadership as the policy of openness, the development of a multi-structural economy, strained relations with the Soviet Union, the proclamation for unification with Taiwan of the "One Country, Two Systems" slogan, and the tolerance, up to certain limits, of the activity of local dissidents and concluded that merely a push in the form of massive trade and economic assistance would be sufficient for China to return once more to the bosom of capitalism.

But reality confounded the American experts' forecasts. Manipulating a great power—China—as people are now attempting to do with our country, proved impossible.

Beijing did not allow itself to be diverted onto the ruinous path of an orgy of mass-meeting anarchy, the indiscriminate abuse of socialism in China, and the lauding to the skies of bourgeois democracy and the capitalist system. Attacks on the leading role in society of the CPC and an attempt to fundamentally change the country's social system under the flag of bourgeois liberalization were emphatically rebuffed. Account was taken, evidently, of the experience of history, when, following the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1911, China was for many years plunged into the mire of division, fratricidal strife, destruction, and civil war.

Many facts indicate that the United States was greatly disheartened. There was a cooling in bilateral relations following the Tienanmen Square events. The most accurate barometer here was the trade and economic partnership. Although "frosts" affected all other relations also: The United States announced the imposition of economic sanctions against the PRC.

The volume of bilateral trade began to decline immediately. Last year, according to the Beijing newspaper CHINA DAILY, American exports to China fell by 16 percent. This process has continued in the current year also. Washington has banned exports to the PRC of high-tech commodities, components for the aerospace industry, the latest computers, and military equipment, for example.

The old bugbear of the textile war has flared up again. In the opinion of the U.S. Administration, China is in violation of the quota for supplies to the United States of cloth and clothing, exporting them through third countries and making illegal use of the labels of well-known Western firms.

But there naturally arises the question: Why, prior to the events in Tienanmen Square, did the U.S. Administration turn a blind eye to the violation of textile import quotas and the activity of dummy Chinese companies and only after June 1989 begin as a matter of haste to display firmness?

American congressmen had been expressing unhappiness also with other cornerstones of Beijing's domestic and foreign policy. Thus the Chinese territory of Tibet was categorized as an "occupied state." In spite of the agreement between China and Britain on the future of Hong Kong as an inalienable part of the PRC, people on the Potomac called for "free elections" on the peninsula and the formation of its own "democratic administration." Beijing needed, allegedly, to be confronted with a fait accompli prior to 1997—the year that Hong Kong is to be returned to the bosom of the homeland.

The Washington administration recently expressed its "concern" in connection with possible supply by China to Iran of components necessary for the manufacture of nuclear weapons. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, Tehran paid Beijing millions of dollars for the equipment needed to obtain highly enriched uranium.

Washington sounded the alarm in connection with China's sale to Pakistan of M-11 missiles with a range of approximately 300 km. Experts believe that they could be fitted with nuclear warheads.

One is alerted straight away in this whole fuss surrounding China (merely its main directions have been emphasized) by two points. First, its commencement following the events in Tienanmen Square. Second, the unfounded charge of a "new stage" of military cooperation between the PRC and Iran and Pakistan. The Chinese leadership saw the campaign which was raised as clearly being inspired by and representing interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. The PRC Foreign Ministry emphatically rejected all charges.

It would be absurd to maintain that China has endured the American sanctions painlessly. Numerous first-class hotels which stand empty look onto the evening streets through black eye sockets. The stream of Western businessmen and tourists to the PRC capital has diminished markedly.

At the same time it cannot be denied that the PRC has stood its ground in the face of concentrated pressure from Western states headed by the United States.

Life moves on. Washington is now, obviously, afraid of missing the Chinese express heading for the Socialism station. It is understandable why: substantial profits, a guaranteed stable situation, and precise legislation beckon. The more so in that the Chinese leadership has consistently displayed good will and an effort to remove the obstacles in trade and economic relations between the two states.

And the barometer of relations between the PRC and the United States has clearly swung toward "warming" of late. President Bush personally decided, in defiance of the opinion of Congress, to resume most-favored-nation status for China. Trade and economic delegations from the two states have once again showed up on both sides of the Pacific. It is expected that the normalization of Chinese-American relations will be consolidated during the visit of Secretary of State Baker to Beijing.

We should not, though, be deceived into thinking that new thinking has prevailed in Washington over the endeavor to build the world in its own image and likeness. Beijing also understands that, following the disintegration of the Soviet Union and our unilateral disarmament in the face of the stable and strong NATO bloc, China is left one on one with the United States. Those across the Atlantic will hardly avoid the temptation to attempt, with the aid of strong pressure, to change the social system in the world's last great socialist power.

Northeast Asia

Seoul Consultative Meeting Decision Viewed

Troop Reduction 'Unreasonable'

SK2311031791 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 0900 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Commentary by station commentator Alekseyev]

[Text] U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney and ROK Defense Minister Yi Chong-ku did not deny that the basic goal of the consultative meeting was to find a way for international inspection of the DPRK nuclear facilities.

This matter is undoubtedly important. Pyongyang's refusal to accept nuclear inspection, required by the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty which the DPRK signed in 1985, increases belief that North Korea is manufacturing nuclear weapons. Many countries are concerned about this, including the ROK and the United States, and the issue must be resolved.

However, Washington and Seoul's resolution can never be regarded as constructive. At the Seoul consultative meeting, the United States announced its plan to stop its policy of reducing U.S. troops in South Korea. Under the plan, U.S. troops in South Korea would be reduced to 30,000 by the end of 1995.

At a news conference in Seoul, Cheney said: Because of the danger that North Korea may be manufacturing nuclear weapons, we think the plan to reduce U.S. troops in South Korea is unreasonable. Thus, only the first-phase reduction plan will be carried out by the end of 1992.

Pyongyang will react negatively to this decision. Furthermore, the decision far from eases a situation complicated by the issue of nuclear safety on the Korean peninsula. Instead, the decision will worsen the situation. The decision to stop the reduction of U.S. troops in the ROK will undoubtedly create doubt and distrust in North-South relations and cannot be helpful to a dialogue between them.

Defense Secretary Cheney and Defense Minister Yi Chong-ku's statement about Pyongyang, with the tone of a hard line and an ultimatum, cannot be seen as suitable.

In conclusion, a few days ago Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, referring to inspection of nuclear facilities in North Korea, warned that force should be used to resolve this issue. He stressed that a meeting, with all countries concerned participating, is the only way to an acceptable resolution. We think that such a position is correct.

Combat Potential To Be Enhanced

LD2411035291 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Commentary by Radio Moscow news analyst Aleksey Kondratyev]

[Text] The Asian observers, and not only them, have pinned certain hopes on the meeting in Seoul. It was believed that the positive solution of the questions discussed would stimulate the further lessening of military and political tension on the Korean peninsula. And indeed, the reduction of American Armed Forces and the withdrawal of American tactical nuclear weapons from South Korea could be two important moves towards demilitarizing the peninsula and turning it into a non-nuclear zone. However, only one of those moves has been made.

It seems that Washington is determined to implement the initiatives of President George Bush on nuclear disarmament and to have nuclear charges removed from the Korean peninsula in the very near future. As for the numerical strength of the American troops, it will remain the same for the time being, what is more Washington intends to enhance the combat potential of the troops by equipping them with conventional but highly effective modern weapons. Among other things it is planned to deploy the air defense missile Patriot along the border with the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea.

Both Washington and Seoul say the decision is prompted by the refusal of the leaders of North Korea to allow an international inspection of their nuclear research center. I have no wish to simply brush aside the arguments given by the North Koreans. Every country has the right to protect its interests but Pyongyang keeps advancing one condition after another for holding the international inspection and that naturally puts Seoul, Washington, Tokyo, and a number of other capitals on their guard.

Isn't it time to dispel suspicion about North Korea wanting to have its own atomic bomb, the more so since Pyongyang denied this flatly? It seems to me that the present difficulties will be eventually removed in the course of the inter-Korean dialogue. Very encouraging in that respect is the report of the South Korean YONHAP Agency. It says that in the course of preparing another inter-Korean meeting at the heads of government level the two sides allegedly came to terms on including into the agreement they worked out a provision under which Seoul and Pyongyang would renounce nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological weapons. Such a turn of events would remove many problems from the Korean peninsula, including the nuclear one.

New Japanese Stance on Cooperation Viewed

92UF0249A Moscow TRUD in Russian
20 Nov 91 p 3

[Report by TRUD correspondent S. Bunin: "K. Miyazawa: "Toward Mutual Accord? New Japanese Position on the Territorial Issue"]

[Text] Tokyo—"A breakthrough in the Soviet direction could be the new government's main achievement" and "Kiichi Miyazawa has every opportunity to go down in history as the prime minister who resolved the territorial hitch with Moscow...."

Such forecasts were being heard in Tokyo even before the 72-year- old veteran of the Liberal Democratic Party, K. Miyazawa, came to head Japan's new cabinet. Assuming the office of premier, he did, indeed, in his speech from the "throne" highlight the problem of normalizing relations with the USSR as a priority for his cabinet.

This focus of the policy of the new Japanese administration emerged even more distinctly at Miyazawa's meeting with the press. Attacked on the territorial issue, the usually laconic prime minister warmed to his theme. Judging by his words, the emphasis in negotiations with the USSR will henceforth be put on "good will" and "amicability." In confirmation of such intentions Miyazawa declared that a decision had been made in principle on rendering the Soviet Union "financial assistance—on a large scale and over the long term."

"We do not intend here," the head of government continued, "to confuse this problem with the question of signing a peace treaty based on a solution of the problem of the Northern Territories inasmuch as this matter is important in itself, both for a normalization of bilateral relations and for the cause of peace as a whole." Miyazawa thereby clearly departed, in the unanimous opinion of the Japanese press, from the hitherto abiding principle of the so-called "indivisibility of economics and politics" in relations with the USSR, which implied a denial of extensive economic cooperation until the territorial problem had been resolved.

So assistance from the rich Far Eastern neighbor has been promised without strict linkage with policy. The desirable directions of this assistance, from the Japanese viewpoint, have also been determined: stabilization of the ruble, material assistance in the form of supplies of basic necessities and the social infrastructure, including transportation, environmental protection and so forth (mainly for the Far East and Sakhalin). A start could be made without delay. There is just one snag, as Miyazawa emphasized—despite all the inquiries made of Soviet authorities and the special trips to our country by high-level leaders of Japan's Ministry of Trade and Industry, answers to the question as to whom and when this assistance should be rendered have still to be obtained.

An abandonment of the previous hard-line policy in respect of the USSR has been demonstrated by Michio Watanabe, the newly appointed leader of Japan's Foreign Ministry, also. In an interview with the newspaper YOMIURI he declared without undue diplomatic subtlety: "For us the bottom line is establishing and maintaining friendly relations with the Soviet Union." To this end, the minister continued, the Japanese intend to adopt henceforth a more flexible approach to realizing the previous principles, with regard for the actions of the partner. The main thing here is to avoid giving the impression that Japan is about to "ransom the islands for money."

Palpable changes, there's no denying. Particularly if it is recalled that just a year ago the previous administration, preparing for the arrival of the Soviet president, put forward as an indispensable condition for all subsequent negotiations and the rendering of large-scale assistance "recognition of Japanese sovereignty over all four islands." Come to that, Japan is proceeding from the fact that in the past six months there has been a transformation in the Soviet side's position on the territorial issue also: from a categorical "no" to the present readiness to discuss various versions of a settlement.

So the Japanese are putting the emphasis on friendship. The increasingly frequent reports in the Japanese press concerning the Soviet people's far from unambivalent attitude toward the mere possibility of the concession of some territory, Soviet officials' references to "objective realities," and the public movement against the transfer of territory of Sakhalin Oblast are clearly reflected here.

A perception of these realities is compelling adjustments to be made to the previous adamant Japanese position. Miyazawa himself observed recently that for a solution of the problem it was necessary primarily "to remove the misgivings of the inhabitants of the Northern Territories" concerning the future. And that for this the government intended to encourage and broaden in every possible way unrestricted contacts between the population of the border areas. In addition, the question of easing the former restrictions on economic relations with Sakhalin Oblast is, as a high-level Japanese Foreign Ministry employee acknowledged, being studied in earnest. If so, this is a manifest departure from the policy of the strict prevention of any business contacts on the part of Japanese businessmen with the Sakhalin authorities, including, specifically, a tacit ban on the creation of joint ventures on the four islands.

It would seem that the financial aid package which has been announced is also geared to achieving this goal—attempting to change the idea of Japan as a "cunning partner" which is trying to achieve the satisfaction of its demands by taking advantage of its neighbor's economic difficulties.

To judge by everything, Japanese diplomacy is actively joining in the struggle for a change in public opinion in the USSR in the right direction for Japan. Inasmuch as this struggle is being conducted on the basis of an aspiration to strengthen friendship and mutual understanding, it can only be welcomed and reciprocated.

U.S. Presence in Japan Termed 'Anachronistic'

OW2411121391 Moscow Radio Moscow in Japanese 1100 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] Listeners! Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States, and Miyashita, director general of the Defense Agency of Japan, recently held talks in Tokyo. At the talks, they presented each other's decisions to consolidate the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. In this connection, Moscow Radio commentator Kalinin comments as follows:

The foundation for the Japan-U.S. cooperation in the security area was laid during the cold war era. It is clear that the Japan- U.S. Security Treaty has aimed to deter Soviet forces in the Far East since the treaty was concluded between the two countries. Today, however, the two countries find it increasingly difficult to stick to the treaty. Reform programs in the Soviet Union have stimulated the process of easing military tensions in the world, including the Asian and Pacific region. The Soviet Union has already reduced unilaterally its forces deployed in its Asian region by 200,000 strong and recently announced plans to cut additionally 200,000 in the region. The process for the replacement of troops for purely defensive purposes is under way. Given the abolishment of the medium-range nuclear missiles by the Soviet Union and tactical nuclear weapons to be reduced largely by the Soviet Union, military threat from the Soviet Union, which has been a factor cementing military cooperation between Japan and the United States, has completely disappeared.

As for ways to build relations with the Soviet Union, each nation will decide independently on it, taking its national interests into account. Therefore, the Soviet Union has not called upon other nations to halt any political and military actions. Under the present international detente, Japan and the United States cannot maintain their security treaty as they have done in the past. I think that the U.S. military presence in Japan according to the treaty is anachronistic. I believe that any treaties between the two countries on cooperation not in the military area, but in the political and economic areas are far more realistic. This view is spreading not only in Japan, but in the United States. For example, according to the results of an opinion poll conducted recently by MAINICHI SHIMBUN, less than 50 percent of Americans surveyed advocated the need to change the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty while 33 percent [words indistinct]. In Japan, meanwhile, 22 percent of the Japanese polled demanded the repeal of the treaty.

Near East & South Asia

Palestinian Delegate on Shevardnadze Meeting

LD2511222491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1024 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondet Gennadiy Marunin]

[Text] Amman, 25 Nov (TASS)—Haydar 'Abd al-Shafi, the leader of the Palestinians from the occupied territories at the Moscow talks, has expressed satisfaction with the results of his visit to the Soviet Union. "We had a good and encouraging meeting with Minister of External Relations Eduard Shevardnadze. The Soviet position is based on the principles of international legality," he told foreign journalists.

Al-Shafi said that Moscow is making efforts to get a positive response from the United States to the Palestinians' request for visas for all the members of the Palestinian delegation, including advisers. He said that in principle the Palestinians are willing to take part in a second round of talks with Israel in Washington.

Sami Kilani, a participant of the talks in Moscow, said the Soviet minister of external relations expressed concern that Israeli settlements are still being built on the occupied Arab lands, and promised that the USSR will "play a more intensive role" in stopping this process.

Second Round of Mideast Peace Talks Assessed

PLO Official Cited

PM2611125191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report by A. Portanskiy: "Second Stage of Talks To Come"]

[Text] As has already been reported, Secretary of State James Baker has suggested beginning the second stage of the Near East peace conference 4 December in Washington after the participants in the talks themselves were unable to reach unanimity on the venue for the conference's continuation. According to news agency reports H. 'Abd-al-Shafi, the head of the Palestinian delegation, confirmed the Palestinians' agreement with Baker's proposal. So far Tel Aviv's position regarding the venue for renewing the talks remains not entirely clear. At the end of his visit to the United States Yitzhaq Shamir asked the U.S. Administration to revise its proposal.

The most important feature of the forthcoming stage of the Near East conference is that the talks will now be not multilateral, as they were in Madrid, but bilateral, and will proceed without the participation of the U.S. and Soviet cochairmen.

Within the framework of preparation for this stage, a group of high-ranking Palestinian figures including PLO Executive Committee members Abu Mazin and Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh; Heydar Abd-al-Shafi, head of the Palestinians at the Madrid conference; and Faysal al-Husayni, an eminent figure from the occupied territories and the Palestinian delegation's unofficial adviser. The Palestinians were received by Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of external relations.

Our diplomats note the Palestinians' sensible and constructive approach toward the start of talks with Israel. The Palestinian figures expressed concern at the slow pace of the conference process, which gives the Arabs grounds for fearing that Tel Aviv will continue to construct settlements on the occupied territories. The Palestinians would like the co-chairmen of the conference to bring the relevant influence to bear on Israel, because the continuation of the construction of settlements puts the Arabs in a quite complex position at the talks.

Before the Palestinians flew from Moscow, your IZVESTIYA correspondent talked with Y. 'Abd-Rabbuh, the leader of the PLO Executive Committee information department.

"At the forthcoming bilateral talks," he said, "we must decide very serious questions—questions of the settlement proper. To settle the Arab-Israeli conflict it is essential to act on the basis of the principles of the exchange of 'land for peace' and the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. The Israelis are being dilatory about recognizing these principles. And it will be difficult in any case to switch in the future to a discussion of questions of cooperation. We also expect the Israelis at the second stage to recognize the principle of the withdrawal of troops from the occupied territories. If we succeed in achieving progress at the bilateral talks, the opportunity will emerge to switch to multilateral talks on cooperation."

The world press has already published the first forecasts on the prospects of the second stage of the Near East conference. If progress in discussions between Tel Aviv and Damascus as a whole looks improbable, the attainment of an interim agreement between Israel and the Palestinians on self-management on the occupied territories looks like an entirely feasible scenario for the development of events.

Commentary Views Progress

LD2511222191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin]

[Text] The media are widely discussing the proposal of the United States Administration to have talks between Israel and Lebanon, Jordan, and the Palestinians starting in Washington on 4 December, as well as the reaction of the sides to this idea. Too much space and time, in my view, writes Aleksandr Pogodin, are given to the differences and all sorts of claims. Of course, the approaches of the sides are still radically different and at times they even rule out each other, but it is naive to expect that in less than a month since the beginning of the Madrid peace conference it would be possible to eliminate all the consequences of the more than four decades of mutual enmity, distrust, and military clashes.

I'd like to underline the extreme importance of the fact that even in these very difficult conditions the sides involved in the conflict stand for carrying on the negotiating process, though with some reservations and conditions. They advocate a dialogue in order to work out decisions meeting the interests of peace in the region. It may sound too optimistic, but I do believe that the idea of a lasting political settlement is gradually accepted by the leading policy makers in the Middle East. It is indicative that, say, in their statements, representatives of Israel and the Palestinians have lately shown some tendencies for a possible drawing of their stands closer.

It is now essential to affirm and promote these tendencies and not to miss the favorable chance that has become available. Much is being done in this respect, as one can see, by the cochairmen of the Madrid process, the United States and the Soviet Union. Of course, it is not these two countries that should produce solutions to the very complicated problems that have stockpiled. That is something the sides involved in the conflict are to deal with. But to advance the talks is the duty of the two cochairmen of the conference. The United States is making quite a substantial contribution to the issue. A display of this is its concrete proposal for the time and venue of the second stage of the talks. Soviet diplomacy is also acting vigorously, which is shown for one by a meeting of the Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, and representatives of the Palestinians at a conference in Moscow. The Soviet Union and Israel will be developing active contacts on all aspects of the Middle Eaat settlement. As Eduard Shevardnadze has put it, there can be no results without a movement of one toward the other. An acceptance of and mainly practical action on this principle by all the participating sides in the talks would become a good basis for advancing the Middle East peace process.

Conference To Be 'Substantive'

LD2511223191 Moscow TASS Inernational Service in Russian 1345 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] [No dateline as received] Reports are coming from Washington saying that the United States has invited Israel and its Arab neighbors to hold a second round of talks within the framework on the Near East peace conference in the U.S. capital on 4 December.

The issue seems as simple as it can be. Having started a dialogue in Madrid in late October, the opponents are going to Washington not to state their initial positions which, one must admit, were quite tough, but to have a substantive conversation. Nevertheless, the U.S. invitation ran into complications straight away.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, who has just completed a 10-day visit to the United States, took offense to U.S. President George Bush, because the latter failed to inform him of the planned date of the conference, and refused to discuss the issue of giving Israel U.S. loan guarantees to Jerusalem of $10 billion to accommodate immigrants arriving in the country. The head of the Israeli Government left for home without agreeing to his delegation's arrival in Washington. The conference's resumption has been left in the balance.

One can understand Y. Shamir. In Israel he is being subjected to most powerful pressure from the right, from ministers of rightwing religious parties in his own government, who reject outright talks with the Arabs; and from the left, from a pacifist movement which is gathering strength and is coming out in favor of territorial compromises in exchange for peace.

The Palestinian delegation, however, immediately accepted the U.S. invitation and is showing its peaceful intentions in every possible way. Even Saudi Arabia, which has an irreconcilable attitude to Israel, has reacted in a positive way. Representatives of Jewish organizations in the United States met in secret, naturally, with Saudi Ambassador Prince Bandar and noted that Riyadh's position is becoming less rigid and it now regards Israel as "an integral part of the region."

One would like the U.S. efforts aimed at convening the second stage of the talks to be crowned with success. None of the parties to the Near East process can withdraw from the dialogue that has already started without irrevocably "losing face", so to speak. This being so, it is high time to stop clinging to formal procedural issues and to get down to serious and long work. Peace in the Near East deserves it.

[Signed] Yuriy Tysovskiy, TASS observer on international issues

Moscow, 25 November

Talk of Afghan Transitional Government Viewed

PM2511155591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Nov 91 p 4

[Special correspondent V. Pritula report: "Afghanistan: Respite Needed. 'Winter Quarters' for Mujahidin?"]

[Excerpt] Kabul—[passage omitted] The results of the talks between Union and republic leaders and the Afghan mujahidin delegation in Moscow have met with a broad response here. How is it, our interlocutors ask, that Moscow reacted with such uncommon thoughtlessness to the mujahidin's demands for power in Kabul to be handed over to them? The sentence from the joint statement to the effect that power in Afghanistan should pass into the hands of an Islamic transitional government, which should then hold a general election within two years, was the reason for these extremely harsh questions. Regrettably, Moscow did not find time to clarify which Islamic transitional government it meant. The one in Peshawar or one that is to be formed as a result of scrupulous talks and agreements with all political groupings and parties involved in the Afghan conflict—as you know, there are far more of them than the seven political organizations comprising the Peshawar alliance.

Kabul responded to the results of the Moscow talks with a government statement stressing that the way to a peace settlement in Afghanistan lies rather in the program set out by the UN secretary general and the Soviet-U.S. statement on Afghanistan. That is, it proposes a ceasefire and further talks with a view to formulating a compromise solution in the interests of all political forces. The statement also broached the question of Soviet prisoners of war. It was underlined that Kabul has made and is making every effort to free the POW's. It will continue to tackle this humanitarian problem.

The government statement is being discussed by all organizations and establishments and even during worship in the mosques. Kabul is an oriential city and people here are in no hurry to draw rash conclusions. There are no signs of panic on people's faces. The city is continuing its life, working, safeguarding itself against sabotage, and trading with gusto. Incidentally, Kabul's merchants—and they form an extremely respected guild—are starting to seek new approaches to trading with their northern neighbor.

It is still hard to predict how events will develop in Afghanistan in the near future. Clearly the coming winter will at any rate bring with it difficulties and privations. But the main thing—all our interlocutors reckon—is for these to be accompanied by some respite in the war. You can survive shortage of food and fuel. It is important for there to be a reduction in the number of shellings of cities. And by spring, who knows? What if the optimists are right and a period of all-Afghan talks sets in? Time will tell.

Shooting Reported Near Pamir on Afghan Border

LD2311143291 Moscow TASS in English 1247 GMT 23 Nov 91

[By TADZHIKTA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Dushanbe November 23 TASS—The situation on the Pamir section of the Soviet-Afghan border remains serious. Fighting between Afghan rebels and government troops is conducted in the immediate proximity to the Pyandzh River, which is the natural border between the two countries.

A car running along the road linking Kalai-Khum, a district centre, and the city of Khorog, the capital of the Soviet Gorno- Badakhshan autonomous region, came under fire at 15:30 on Thursday [21 November]. The fire that came from Afghan territory injured the driver and a passenger. They were taken to a hospital.

Immediately following the incident, Soviet border troops carried out demonstration operations in the area that came under fire. Armoured groups ensured the protection of the entire length of the border.

The incident is being investigated. In the operational group of the Central-Asian border district they believe, relying on preliminary conclusions, that shots were fired at random. The border service issued a protest to the Afghan side.

Rogachev, Pakistani Official Meet on Relations

LD2511184191 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and Pakistani State Minister for Economic Affairs Sardar Asif Ali met here today to discuss topical issues of the Soviet-Pakistani relations, including some aspects of trade and economic cooperation.

Sardar Asif Ali heads a Pakistani trade and economic delegation, currently on a visit to the Soviet Union.

The sides also touched upon international issues, primarily ways of the Afghan settlement and the soonest liberation of Soviet prisoners of war, kept by the Afghan opposition, sources at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's information directorate report.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Gorbachev Invites Mandela To Visit Moscow

LD2511162891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1431 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Vasilyev]

[Text] Harare, November 25 (TASS)—Nelson Mandela, the president of South Africa's African National Congress [ANC], has received an invitation from Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, to visit Moscow from 4 to 6 December. This was announced in an ANC statement released in Johannesburg on 25 November.

The liberation movement's document says that in accordance with a prior agreement the ANC leader is scheduled to address the United Nations on these dates. Therefore, the dates for the Moscow meeting have yet to be finalized.

East Europe

Gorbachev Sends Greetings to CSFR's Dubcek

LD2511185291 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has cordially congratulated Chairman of the Czechoslovakian Federal Assembly Alexander Dubcek on his 70th birthday.

"I value highly the role you play in the current revival of Czechoslovakia and the establishment of new relations of cooperation and confidence between our countries and peoples," says the cable.

"Your jubilee reminds me and my fellow countrymen of the fact, which is, first of all, inseparably linked with your name—this is the 'Prague Spring', the forerunner of the current revival of Czechoslovak society.

"It was, at the same time, an alarm signal about the irreversibility of changes in the whole post-war development. The signal was not understood, but grossly suppressed.

"It now pains to recall these events. But the year 1968 did not go for nothing. All the honest people have no right to forget the heroic deed of those that did not fear to run the risk in the name of the future," the cable says.

West Europe

Talks With EEC Officials To Begin in Belgium

Silayev Departs, Previews Talks

LD2611072991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0650 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Viktor Runov]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Nov (TASS)—Ivan Silayev, chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee, has just left "Vnukovo" airport for a short visit to Belgium. In Brussels he will hold talks with Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens and meet with representatives of that country's business circles, bankers, and entrepreneurs.

Talks are also planned with European Commission Chairman Jacques Delors, as is the signing of a package of documents guaranteeing 500 million ECUs [European Currency Units] (the agreed upon currency of the EEC countries) in credit and talks on receiving a sum of more than 1 billion ECUs.

In an impromptu news conference before he took off, Ivan Silayev reported that he planned to familiarize himself with the work mechanism of the European government, which is very similar in structure to the Interstate Economic Committee. He added that he will inform the EEC leadership about the directions being taken in reforming the country's currency and finance system.

The aim of the trip is not just to obtain additional credit, but also to develop models for bilateral cooperation, in particular in the sphere of power engineering, the production of medicines and consumer goods, and the organization of farms. The credits obtained, Ivan Silayev noted, will be used first and foremost to resolve the foodstuffs problem within the framework of the agreements signed at the State Council meeting.

Details on ECU Loan

OW2511193591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1813 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An agreement on guarantees of a loan of 500 million ECU [European Currency Unit] on food supplies from the European Community to the republics of the former Union is expected to be signed in Brussels on November 27 or 28 by the Inter-Republican Economic Committee and the European Commission.

On November 26, chairman of the Inter-Republican Economic Committee, Ivan Silayev, will fly to Brussels.

The procedure of securing the loan is as follows: After the USSR and the European Commission sign the agreement, the European Commission will sign an agreement with the consortium of the European banks. Following this, the consortium will extend a loan of 500 million ECU to Vneshekonombank.

In experts' estimates, the most serious queries are caused by the fact that it is not known yet how many and which republics Mr. Silayev would represent at the Brussels talks. These queries may be cleared at the meeting of the State Council on November 25.

Barannikov, Austrian Counterpart Sign Protocol

LD2611045591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2021 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Kozlov]

[Text] Vienna, 25 Nov (TASS)—The prospects for widening cooperation in fighting organized crime and illegal drug trafficking as well as sharing experience in these spheres and in training personnel were the main topics in talks between Viktor Barannikov, USSR minister of internal affairs, and Franz Leoschnak, Austrian minister of internal affairs. Their meeting took place within the framework of the continuing visit of the head of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] to the Alpine republic.

At the end of negotiations, a joint protocol was signed on implementing the proposed 1992 plan on specific measures for developing the bilateral agreement on cooperation, which was signed in 1990 in Vienna.

As both ministers noted during the news conference which took place after the signing ceremony, attention was also given to a discussion on problems arising from the activation of the migration processes. In view of the special interest in this problem in Austria at present, the Soviet minister presented information which could substantially reassure the Austrian public. In particular, he excluded the possibility of a sharp increase in uncontrolled emigration from the USSR resulting from the stage-by-stage implementation of the law on entry and exit. Both ministers confirmed at the news conference that they had reached agreement on a regular exchange of information on migration problems.

Also today, V. Barannikov familiarized himself with the work of "Cobra," a special antiterrorist subunit of the Austrian gendarmerie. The technical potential of this service and the level of personnel training were demonstrated during a practice alert to free a group of hostages. Three Soviet MVD specialists are undergoing training in the "Cobra" ranks.

Pankin Hands Over Documents on Wallenberg Case

PM2211144091 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 21 Nov 91 p 11

[Thomas Hamberg/TIDNINGARNAS TELEGRAMBYRA report: "New Discoveries About Wallenberg"]

[Excerpt] Moscow—A year before notorious Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov was ousted from the Soviet Government in 1957, he proposed to the then KGB chief, Ivan Serov, that Sweden should be told the truth about the fate of Raoul Wallenberg. Too many people had given evidence about the incarcerated Wallenberg despite the fact that the Kremlin had denied all knowledge of the Swedish diplomat.

This is clear from one of the approximately 70 documents relating to the Wallenberg case which outgoing

Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin handed over to Swedish Ambassador in Moscow Orjan Berner at noon yesterday.

The new documents come from the Soviet Foreign Ministry's archives.

"Some of the papers are particularly interesting," Berner said as he left the half-hour meeting with Pankin at the Foreign Ministry's gray so-called Stalin skyscraper with a red document folder in his hand.

Swedish interest concentrates chiefly on the text of a letter, dated April 1956, from Foreign Minister Molotov to security chief Serov.

In the letter Molotov notes that the Swedes had been in contact with so many people who claimed that they had met Wallenberg in Soviet prisons that "we consider it expedient to inform the Swedish Government of Wallenberg's fate."

Molotov—foreign minister from 1939 to 1949 and from 1953 to 1956—hints in the letter that the number of witnesses interviewed by Sweden makes it impossible to adhere to the August 1947 version of Andrey Vyshinskiy, who was deputy foreign minister at the time, that "Wallenberg is not on Soviet territory and is unknown to the Soviet authorities." [passage omitted]

Bakatin Promises 'Latest Information'

LD2611041691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2158 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] It looks like we should expect new reports about Swedish diplomat Wallenberg. Wallenberg was arrested by Soviet troops in Budapest at the end of World War II, but up until now it has not been clear what happened to him. But very soon the latest information on Wallenberg should appear. This was reported by Bakatin, chairman of the USSR KGB, in his interview to SPIEGEL magazine, but it will not be through documents from the KGB but from party sources. According to Bakatin, his employees have found traces which lead to the CPSU archives.

Reports Indicate 'Mass Exodus' of KGB Agents

PM2611104591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 91 Union Edition p 12

[IZVESTIYA correspondent M. Zubko report: "Mass Exodus of KGB Agents?"]

[Text] Stockholm—This has never happened before in our dramatic history: Local press reports indicate that preparations are under way for a mass exodus of former KGB personnel still working at the Soviet Embassy in Stockholm. AFTONBLADET, citing the "Echo of the Day" radio program, claims that "many KGB agents in the Russian Embassy" are holding talks with Sweden's security service in strictest secrecy, the purpose of which is as follows: If we, that is they, are given political asylum or at least a residence permit, they will defect and reveal everything they know about the Soviet secret service and its activity, in Sweden in particular.

The Swedish press explains that these personnel are afraid of returning home given the reorganization of the KGB and the reduction in numbers of secret services' personnel since they know that they will be left without a job there. That is why they are now trying to get guarantees from the Swedish side with the promise: "We will tell you everything we know!"

Needless to say, those involved in the planned exodus expected their talks to be secret, but it is rarely possible to keep such things secret here in Sweden: People here shoulder too much responsibility—and are too accustomed to doing so—for providing regular information about everything and the Swedish press is too powerful and influential.

Swedish journalists who learned of the intentions of "many Soviet Embassy staffers" even succeeded in "shocking" the head of Sweden's police department Bjorn Eriksson. Answering correspondents' questions, he said that he is interested in "accepting the surrender of some agents" who were engaged in illegal activity and espionage against Sweden.

The police chief added that he has grounds for recommending that the Swedish immigration administration find a solution to the question of granting the defectors the necessary visas. But at this juncture Bjorn Eriksson added: Talks with the security service do not mean that KGB agents will automatically get a residence permit....

KGB Defector Reports on Espionage in Norway

PM2611134991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 91 p 1

[D. Babich report under general heading: "'Pavel Andreich, Are You a Spy?' 'You See, Yura...'"]

[Text] According to REUTER and AFP reports, former KGB Major Mikhail Butkov, who recently fled to Britain, has given his first interview, in which he reported that several Norwegians are still working for the KGB, receiving gifts or money in return. Here industrial espionage occupies "second place" after military espionage. The Norwegian "sources" were working on the pretext of passing information to a newspaper. Several weeks ago eight Soviet diplomats were expelled from Norway after Butkov had confirmed the conjectures of Norwegian counterintelligence.

Butkov declared that Soviet intelligence was continuing its activity in Norway and other countries at least until the August putsch.

He also said that 38 Soviet citizens were spying in Norway last year. Among the most valuable Norwegian agents he mentioned Arne Treholt, a former Norwegian diplomat who, despite applications to be released, has been serving a 20-year jail term since 1985 for working for Soviet intelligence.

Butkov said that he fled because he feared the "reactionary KGB," and declared that he would not have done so if the putsch and the ensuing collapse of the KGB had occurred earlier.

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuban Minister's Tour 'Shrouded in Secrecy'

OW2511114891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0743 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the 22 November "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Ricardo Cabrisas, Cuba's foreign trade minister, is making a tour of ex-Soviet, now sovereign, countries to conclude cooperation agreements. He has already met with the leaders in the Baltics and Russia and plans to go to Kazakhstan. The experts DP [Diplomatic Panorama] contacted are under the impression that Cuba is trying to forge new approaches to cooperation with its biggest partner. Heeding the realities, Cuba is now attempting to concentrate on reaching agreements with the former Soviet republics, first of all, on access to energy carriers.

DP learned that Mr. Cabrisas' tour is shrouded in secrecy and has no itinerary or timetable. The mission is probably a "free hunt" in which the minister relies on the results of the latest talks to decide where his next stopover will be. Since Russia will not be able to meet Cuba's needs for oil—for political and economic reasons—Havana's minister will try to make up by arranging for supplies from other republics, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan or Azerbaijan, on the assumption that their attitude toward the Castro regime may be less critical than that of Russian leaders.

Brazilian Foreign Minister Postpones Visit

LD2611123891 Moscow TASS in English 1114 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Chistov]

[Text] Brazilia November 26—Brazil's minister of foreign affairs, Francisco Rezek, has postponed his visit to the USSR until the beginning of next year, the Brazil information agency said on Monday [25 November].

The Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested the postponement in light of reforms within its ranks. The most salient reform is the merging of the ministries of foreign affairs and foreign economic affairs.

The two sides anticipate some form of cooperation in the war on drug trafficking and an agreement on the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and environmental protection. Also included on the agenda for Rezek's visit are talks about the establishment of general consulates in Sao Paolo and St. Petersburg.

Rumor of Chilean Visa for Honecker Denied

OW2611130391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Chilean Government proceeds from the assumption that the right to enter Chile can be granted to any person who wishes to do so and who possesses the necessary documents. As for Erich Honecker, the Chilean authorities adhere to the stand they expressed earlier: the former East German leader will be allowed to enter Chile only if he presents a German passport for the purpose. This was announced by a spokesman for the Chilean Embassy in Moscow in answer to questions from IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent in connection with the reemerging rumours that Erich Honecker might leave for Chile, having been denied the right of residence in Russia.

According to the diplomat, lately the Chilean authorities have not been requested to grant an entry visa to the former leader of East Germany.

Supreme Soviet

Budget Committee Proposes Military Cuts

OW2511214191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2032 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Yuriy Andreyev, a member of the Committee for Budget and Finances of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of the Republics, told IF [INTERFAX] that the committee had discussed the extraordinary budget for the 4th quarter of 1991.

He said that while considering the budget, the working group for military spending was guided by the need to cut down the USSR's budget deficit and internal debt. "In this connection, all the items related to military spending have been reviewed," said Mr. Andreyev. The working group proposed that the 1991 military spending be reduced to 81 billion rubles.

Mr. Andreyev noted that initially the USSR Supreme Soviet had endorsed a military budget of 96.6 billion rubles.

According to the forecast of the USSR Ministry of Finances, with the 4th quarter of 1991 taken into account, the military budget will amount to 102.7 billion rubles. The working group proposed that most of the cuts be made in the items reserved for purchasing armaments and military equipment. The estimated spending on buying armaments and equipment for the fourth quarter of 1991 stands at 13 billion rubles.

Mr. Andreyev said that the group he was leading believed that only a small part of this sum should be reserved for purchasing armaments and military equipment. The rest of it should be used for paying wages to the arms-industry workers. That way, these items of spending could be cut down to 5.1 billion rubles.

Yuriy Andreyev also said that the chief measure—radical cuts in purchasing armaments and military equipment—should encourage the government and the arms industry to start real conversion. He said that over the past nine months, 70 billion rubles had been spent on military purposes.

Servicemen's Status Law Decision Postponed

LD2611121191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0700 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] The adoption of the USSR law on the status of servicemen has again been postponed for an indefinite time. It has already been sent back once for reworking, but was declined by a relevant committee of the Soviet of the Union. A new group has been set up to finalize it.

Deputies 'Totally Perplexed' About Status

PM2511162591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Parliamentary observer S. Chugayev report: "Union Parliament Wants To Know Why It Is Needed"]

[Text] The auditorium took cognizance of the USSR president's first speech in the new Union parliament and abstained from a debate. Maybe the deputies felt uncomfortable about having a discussion in the absence of the main speaker, who had rushed off to catch an airplane for Irkutsk. But it is quite likely that the restraint with which the USSR Supreme Soviet perceived the president's speech stemmed from its subject matter and content.

There probably has not been a single session in either chamber during which this question has not arisen in one form or another: Who are we, and why have we gathered here? The president had actually been expected to provide an exhaustive answer to it. However, after his very first words, it became clear that he had come to parliament to try and persuade deputies to amend their decision to refuse credits to fund Union budget expenditure.

The president's replies to deputies' questions featured as the last item on the program of this session. And it was here that it turned out that the auditorium was concerned not so much about the question of credits as about their own position, which is still unclear. It is not hard to understand the deputies. The Union parliament still does not play any serious part in the country's political life. Parliamentarians are forced to learn about what is happening at Novo-Ogarevo or at State Council sessions only from the newspapers or in those rare cases when the president visits the Supreme Soviet. The displeasure of many deputies at the role of onlookers, in which they have ended up on coming into the renewed parliament, was known quite a long time ago. It is also known that certain parliamentary leaders intended to ask the USSR president for permission to lead a more active political life. To begin with, for example, to participate in State Council sessions and in Novo-Ogarevo meetings.

However, Gorbachev quickly dispelled those illusions. Answering a question from R. Mirzoyev, leader of the Tajik deputation in the Soviet of the Republics—a question which had quite obviously been prepared in advance—he replied that he personally is not opposed to representatives of the Union parliament coming to State Council sessions or traveling to Novo-Ogarevo, but the leaders of the republics object. The president also managed not to give specific answers to numerous questions of this kind: Which is more important in our country—the State Council or the USSR Supreme Soviet? And, as a result, he left the deputies totally perplexed as to their own status and just what this unprecedented phenomenon born of the postputsch times—supreme representative power—really is.

As a matter of fact, there is no secret about the president's opinion about who should hold the reins of power during the transitional period. During his speech he spoke repeatedly, in particular, of the need to have strong executive power at the center and to resolve the most important questions in the council of leaders of sovereign states. There is undoubtedly logic in this position. But this means that the following question is also logical: In that case, what use is the Union parliament to the Union president? And yet recently Gorbachev virtually saved the Soviet of the Union, which Novo-Ogarevo had proposed abolishing as a superfluous organ. Meanwhile, the Soviet of the Republics would be quite enough for window dressing.

To all appearances, the USSR president is pinning definite hopes on parliament. Which ones? Maybe the answer will be learned in the next few days. It is known that the leaders of parliament have had a number of consultations with the USSR president, which are to result in statements by the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Republics which, it is proposed, will announce the place and role of the Union parliament in the country's political life.

Political & Social

Further Reportage on Union Treaty Debate

Draft of Treaty

PM2511173691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 91 Union Edition p 3

["Draft Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] The states signatory to the present treaty,

proceeding from their proclaimed declarations of sovereignty and recognizing the nations' right to self-determination;

considering the related historical destinies of their peoples and expressing their will to live in friendship and accord, developing equal, mutually beneficial cooperation;

concerned for their material prosperity and spiritual development, the mutual enrichment of national cultures, and the safeguarding of common security;

wishing to create reliable guarantees of citizens' rights and freedoms;

have decided to create a Union of Sovereign States on new principles, and have agreed on the following.

I

Basic Principles

First. Each republic party to the treaty is a sovereign state. The Union of Sovereign States (USS) is a confederative democratic state exercising power within the bounds of the powers voluntarily vested in it by the parties to the treaty.

Second. The states forming the Union retain the right autonomously to decide all questions of their own development, while guaranteeing equal political rights and opportunities for socioeconomic and cultural progress to all peoples living in their territory. The parties to the treaty will proceed from a combination of panhuman and national values and will resolutely oppose racism, chauvinism, nationalism, and all attempts to restrict the rights of peoples.

Third. The states forming the Union consider the most important principle to be the paramountcy of human rights in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other generally recognized norms of international law. All citizens are guaranteed the opportunity to study and use their native language; unhindered access to information; freedom of religion; and other political, socioeconomic, and personal rights and freedoms.

Fourth. The states forming the Union see the most important conditions for the freedom and prosperity of their peoples and of every individual in the formation of a civil society. They will seek to meet people's needs on the basis of a free choice of forms of ownership and methods of economic management, the development of a unionwide market, and the realization of the principles of social justice and protection.

Fifth. The states forming the Union autonomously determine their own national-state and administrative-territorial structure and their system of organs of power and administration. They recognize as the common fundamental principle democracy based on popular representation and direct expression of the peoples' will, and seek to create a rule-of-law state which will act as guarantor against all trends toward totalitarianism and tyranny.

Sixth. The states forming the Union consider one of the most important tasks to be the preservation and development of national traditions and state support for education, health care, science, and culture. They will promote the intensive exchange and mutual enrichment of humanist spiritual values and the achievements of the peoples of the Union and the entire world.

Seventh. The Union of Sovereign States acts in international relations as a sovereign state and an entity [subyekt] in international law—the successor to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Its main aims in the international arena are lasting peace, disarmament, the elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, cooperation among states, and solidarity among peoples in tackling mankind's global problems.

The states forming the Union are entities in international law. They are entitled to establish direct diplomatic and consular ties and trade and other relations with foreign states, to exchange plenipotentiary representatives with them, to conclude international treaties, and to participate in the activity of international organizations, without detriment to the interests of any of the states forming the Union or to their common interests, and without violating the international commitments of the Union.

II

Structure of the Union

Article 1. Membership of the Union

States' membership of the Union is voluntary.

The parties to the present treaty are the states directly forming the Union.

The Union is open for entry by other democratic states that recognize the treaty.

The states forming the Union retain the right to free secession from it under the procedure laid down by the parties to the treaty.

Article 2. Citizenship of the Union

A citizen of a state belonging to the Union is simultaneously a citizen of the Union of Sovereign States.

Citizens of the Union have equal rights, freedoms, and duties, as enshrined in the laws and international treaties of the Union.

Article 3. Territory of the Union

The territory of the Union consists of the territories of all the states party to the treaty.

The Union guarantees the inviolability of the borders of the states belonging to it.

Article 4. Relations Among the States Forming the Union

Relations among the states forming the Union are regulated by the present treaty, as well as by other treaties and agreements not running counter to it.

The states party to the treaty build their mutual relations within the Union on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, resolution of disputes by peaceful means, cooperation, mutual assistance, and conscientious fulfillment of commitments under the present treaty and interrepublic agreements.

The states forming the Union undertake: not to resort to force or the threat of force in relations with one another; not to encroach on each other's territorial integrity; not to conclude agreements that run counter to the aims of the Union or are directed against other states party to the Union.

Article 5. Armed Forces of the Union

The Union of Sovereign States has unified Armed Forces with centralized control.

The aims, purpose, and procedure for utilization of the unified Armed Forces, as well as the competence of the states party to the treaty in the defense sphere, are regulated by the agreement provided for in the present treaty.

The states party to the treaty are entitled to set up republic armed formations, whose functions and strength are defined by the said agreement.

The utilization of the Union Armed Forces within the country is not permitted, with the exception of their participation in eliminating the consequences of natural disasters or ecological catastrophes, and of the cases stipulated in legislation on a state of emergency.

Article 6. Spheres of Joint Jurisdiction of the States Party to the treaty and Multilateral Agreements

The states party to the treaty form a single political and economic space and base their relations on the principles enshrined in the present treaty and the advantages offered by it. Relations with states not belonging to the Union of Sovereign States are based on the generally recognized norms of international law.

With a view to safeguarding the common interests of the states party to the treaty, spheres of joint jurisdiction are stipulated and corresponding multilateral treaties and agreements are concluded:

—on the economic community;
—on joint defense and collective security;
—on the coordination of foreign policy;
—on the defense of human rights and the rights of national minorities;
—on the coordination of common ecological programs;
—in the sphere of power generation, transportation, communications, and space;
—on cooperation in the sphere of education and culture;
—on combating crime.

Article 7. Powers of Union Organs

In order to realize the common tasks stemming from the treaty and from multilateral agreements, the states forming the Union delegate the necessary powers to Union organs.

The states forming the Union participate in the exercise of the Union organs' powers through the joint formation of the said organs, and also through special procedures for the coordination of decisions and their execution.

Each party to the treaty may, by concluding an agreement with the Union, additionally delegate to it particular powers of its own, and the Union, with the consent of all the parties, may transfer to one or several of them the exercise, on their territory, of particular powers of the Union.

Article 8. Ownership

The states party to the treaty ensure the free development and protection of all forms of ownership.

The states party to the treaty place at the disposal of Union organs the property necessary for the exercise of the powers vested in them. This property is jointly owned by the states forming the Union, and is used exclusively in their common interests, including that of the accelerated development of backward regions.

The utilization of the land, mineral resources, and other natural resources of the states party to the treaty in the exercise of the powers of the Union organs takes place in accordance with the legislation of those states.

Article 9. The Union Budget

The procedure for financing the Union budget and for monitoring its expenditure section is laid down in a special agreement.

Article 10. Laws of the Union

The constitutional laws of the Union of Sovereign States are the present treaty and the Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms.

Union laws are adopted on questions relating to the jurisdiction of the Union and within the limits of the powers transferred to it by the present treaty. They are binding for execution on the territory of all the states party to the treaty.

A state party to the treaty is entitled to protest and suspend the operation on its territory of a Union law, if it violates the present treaty.

The Union is entitled to protest and suspend the operation of a law of a state party to the treaty, if it violates the present treaty.

Disputes are resolved through conciliation procedures, or submitted to the Union Supreme Court, which takes the final decision within one month.

III

Union Organs

Article 11. The Formation of Union Organs

Union organs of power and administration are formed on the basis of the free expression of the peoples' will and of the full representation of the states forming the Union. The organization, powers, and procedure for the activity of organs of power and management are laid down by appropriate laws not running counter to the present treaty.

Article 12. The Union Supreme Soviet

Legislative power in the Union is exercised by the Union Supreme Soviet, which consists of two chambers: the Soviet of the Republics and the Soviet of the Union.

The Soviet of the Republics includes 20 deputies from each state forming the Union, the deputies being delegated by the state's supreme organ of power.

The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has 52 deputies in the Soviet of the Republics. Other states party to the treaty which contain republics and autonomous formations delegate one additional deputy to the Soviet of the Republics for each republic and autonomous formation. With a view to ensuring equal rights in voting in the Soviet of the Republics each state forming the Union has one vote.

The Soviet of the Union is elected by the Union's population in electoral districts with equal numbers of voters. Representation of all the states party to the treaty in the Soviet of the Union is guaranteed here.

The Union Supreme Soviet elects the chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

The chambers of the Union Supreme Soviet jointly admit new states to the Union, hear reports from the Union president on the most important questions of Union domestic and foreign policy, ratify the Union budget and the report on its implementation, and declare war and conclude peace agreements.

The Soviet of the Republics adopts decisions on the organization and procedure for the activity of Union organs, examines questions of relations between republics, ratifies and denounces the Union's international treaties, and consents to the appointment of the Union Government.

The Soviet of the Union examines questions of safeguarding citizens' rights and freedoms and adopts decisions on all questions within the competence of the Supreme Soviet with the exception of those that are within the competence of the Soviet of the Republics.

Laws adopted by the Soviet of the Union enter into force after approval by the Soviet of the Republics.

(Note: Quotas are being clarified.)

Article 13. The President of the Union

The president of the Union is the head of a confederative state.

The president of the Union is the guarantor of the observance of the treaty on the Union of Sovereign States and the Union laws, is commander in chief of the

Union Armed Forces, represents the Union in relations with foreign states, and monitors the fulfillment of the Union's international commitments.

The president of the Union is elected by the Union's citizens by the procedure laid down by law for a term of five years and for no more than two terms in succession.

Article 14. The Vice President of the Union

The vice president of the Union is elected together with the president of the Union. The vice president of the Union, on authorization by the president of the Union, performs some of the latter's functions and fills in for the president of the Union if the latter is incapable of performing his duties.

Article 15. The Union State Council

The Union State Council is set up to coordinate the most important questions of the domestic and foreign policy of the Union of Sovereign States.

The State Council is headed by the president of the Union and consists of the supreme leaders of the states party to the treaty.

Article 16. The Government of the Union

The Union government is the Union's organ of executive power, is subordinate to the president of the Union, and bears responsibility before the Union Supreme Soviet.

The Union government is headed by the prime minister. The government includes the heads of government of the states party to the treaty, the chairman of the Interstate Economic Committee (first deputy prime minister), deputy prime ministers, and heads of the departments envisaged by agreements among the states party to the treaty.

The Union government is formed by the president of the Union by agreement with the Union Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Republics.

Article 17. The Union Supreme Court

The Union Supreme Court performs the functions of constitutional court and interrepublican court in the protection of citizens' rights and freedoms, hears civil and criminal cases of an interrepublican nature, and is the court of last resort in relation to military courts.

The Union Supreme Court is formed on an equal footing by the president of the Union and each of the chambers of the Union Supreme Soviet. The chairmen of the Supreme Courts of the states party to the treaty are ex officio members of the Union Supreme Court.

Article 18. The Union Supreme Court of Arbitration

The Union Supreme Court of Arbitration resolves economic disputes among the states party to the treaty and also disputes between enterprises that are under the jurisdiction of different states party to the treaty.

The Supreme Court of Arbitration is formed on an equal footing by the president of the Union and each of the chambers of the Union Supreme Soviet. The chairman of the courts of arbitration of the states party to the treaty are ex officio members of the Supreme Court of Arbitration.

Article 19. The Union Prosecutor's Office

Oversight of the implementation of Union legislative acts is carried out by the Union general prosecutor and the general prosecutor (prosecutors) of the states party to the treaty.

The Union general prosecutor is appointed by the Union Supreme Soviet.

IV

Concluding Provisions

Article 20. The Language of Interethnic Communication in the Union

The parties to the treaty autonomously decide their own state language (languages). The states party to the treaty recognize Russian as the language of interethnic communication in the Union.

Article 21. The Capital of the Union

The capital of the Union is the city of Moscow.

Article 22. State Symbols of the Union

The Union has a state crest, flag, and anthem.

Article 23. Procedure for Making Amendments and Additions to the treaty

The present treaty or individual provisions of it can be repealed, amended, or added to only with the consent of all the states forming the Union.

Article 24. The Union's Status as Successor in Law

The Union of Sovereign States has all the rights and fulfills all the obligations arising from international treaties and agreements of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Article 25. Responsibility Under the Treaty

The Union and its constituent states bear mutual responsibility for the fulfillment of obligations and reimburse damage caused by violations of the present treaty.

Article 26. Entry Into Force of the Treaty

The present treaty is approved by the supreme organs of state power of the states forming the Union and enters into force once it is signed by their plenipotentiary delegations.

As of that date the 1922 Treaty on the Formation of the USSR is deemed to have ceased to be valid for states that have not signed the present treaty.

Relations between the Union of Sovereign States and the states which were part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics but which have not signed the present treaty are to be regulated on the basis of mutual obligations and agreements.

State Council Meets

LD2311072291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1132 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS observer Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Nov (TASS)—"The hopes of signing a new Union treaty before the end of the year, which seemed to be emerging after the recent session of the USSR State Council could be disappointed. After yesterday's session of the Council of Heads of Government of the Member States of the Economic Community, the question again arose in acute form as to whether the Union can exist at all unless a firm foundation can be created for a single economic space.

The session of the council examined progress in preparing agreements for the Treaty on an Economic Community. It is these agreements—of which there are 26—which must breathe life into the treaty that has been signed, to date, by 10 republics. Without them the treaty would, alas, remain a mere declaration.

The gist of what took place yesterday at the council of heads of governments (we should note for the sake of accuracy that not the prime ministers, but their representatives, were present—TASS) is that the republics have once again demonstrated a whole spectrum of mutually exclusive viewpoints. Nor do the emotional appeals of Grigoriy Yavlinskiy seem to have found due response among those assembled: He said we must not drown the agreements in endless negotiation; a decision must be made now on the whole package of documents; and particular disputed points can be finalized once these have been signed. Otherwise, as he put it, it is the prime ministers who will have to bear the full weight of responsibility for the collapse of the economy and of the entire Union.

Because of the fact that the economic treaty has not yet begun to "work", the community's original problems are still unsolved: the defense budget, curbing the budget deficit, an agreed price policy, and others. The new financial year, 1992, is not far off. Will the republics have time to reach agreement, for example, on the pay of the officers of the strategic nuclear forces who stand, around the clock, next to the "launch" button?

The situation is indeed serious as never before. What could happen if the agreements are not at least intialed in the next two or three days? First of all, all the republics of the former Union could be plunged into economic chaos, in which possibly only Russia and the Ukraine would survive. But the standard of living of the absolute majority of their citizens will fall sharply in any case. The economic confrontation which awaits the former Union republics if the economic treaty falls through would impel them into new interethnic and interrepublican conflicts. And then—for the nth time in recent years—there could again be bloodshed.

There is, I think, only one way to counter this: by vigorous, concerted, and far-reaching economic reforms in 12 of the 15 republics of the former Union.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy yesterday promised at the council that he would "on the evening of 23 November at the latest" hand the final package of documents to the republics for a "political decision". Time is short, and therefore one would very much like to hope that at the State Council session, which according to information from the Union parliament will be held on 25 November, the main attention will be given not only to initialing the the new version of the Union treaty, but also to settling the key issue of the day, which is that of the economic basis of the future political union.

Draft To Be Sent to Republics

OW2611004991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2101 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet State Committee on Monday [25 November] agreed to a draft for a new Union treaty. In the course of two days, the draft will be sent to the republics' and the all-Union Supreme Council for consideration. President Gorbachev declared that he expects the draft to be signed by the end of this year, sometime between December 20-30. Mr. Gorbachev called the Commitee's meeting "a collective approval of the Union treaty."

According to the draft, the Union of Sovereign States (USS) will be a confederated, democratic government, led by a president. The president of the USS will be elected by a five-year term by all citizens of the confederation. Participants in the session came out in favor of retaining the State Committee (consisting of the leaders of the republics and headed by the Soviet President) as the principal organ of government for internal and international affairs. The committee's decisions must be binding.

At the Monday [25 November] session, it was also agreed upon to maintain a unified Armed Forces with a centralized command.

Gorbachev News Conference

LD2511163391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1428 GMT 25 Nov 91

[News conference addressed by USSR President M.S. Gorbachev at Novo-Ogarevo—live]

[Text] [Gorbachev] Today I am alone. It is harder both for you and for me, so let's be polite to each other! The first part of the agenda was connected with completing the preparations for the treaty on the Union of Sovereign States, in order to pass it on to the supreme soviets of the republics and to the USSR Supreme Soviet. This part of the agenda has been completed.

A question arose concerning the fact that we intended to initial every page. This is what we had agreed. We agreed to express collective opinion—by collective initialling of a decision of the State Council—and then to send the draft to the supreme soviets, as I have already said, of both the Union and the sovereign states, and then to publish it. As a result of lengthy work and an analysis of all the complex issues that arose in the course of work on the final version, which you and I discussed previously at a news conference, and which leaders of our sovereign states spoke in favor of, we decided to adopt the following resolution to send to the supreme soviets of the sovereign states and to the USSR Supreme Soviet. We will send them a prepared draft of the treaty on the Union of Sovereign States. We will ask the Supreme Soviets to discuss this draft, with the purpose of preparing it for signing before the end of the year, and to publish the draft in the press.

Well, what about it? I have to say that again everything has gone back to square one, if one is frank. I suppose that it is that sort of material.

And nevertheless, although the debates were acute and serious, everyone understood that it is simply not possible to draw the process out any further. The country and society are in such a state that this process needs to be set in motion. For neither the reforms nor the economic treaty nor anything else will start functioning if we do not untie this main knot—the issue of statehood. Therefore, no vital amendments, of a radical nature as it were, have been made to what was agreed between us, about which we reached agreement at the last State Council, to be more exact. It was of a more editorial nature.

The only possibility, if it is recalled, is that as a result of the discussions, the need to have a chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet has been excluded from the treaty. The vice president has been preserved, the bicameral Supreme Soviet has been preserved, and the president is to be elected by citizens in accordance with the law that will be adopted. The State Council has been restored—and not just restored, but comrades came out in favor of that body playing a more effective role, the role of strength and influence it is accumulating. And in connection with this, the more relaxed formula contained in this draft which we were discussing today did not satisfy comrades.

The comrades came out in favor of the State Council being a body for coordinating domestic and foreign policy at state level, under the leadership of the president of the country, of its decisions being binding to ensure that it operates effectively. That is to say, that it should essentially be restored in its present form. Its functions have been defined, outlined generally in the law on the state structures and bodies of administration in the transitional period. It could be said that it was vital.

Another vital point is that they came out in favor of the Procurator's Office not existing as an independent institution—and it was included in our draft as an independent institution—but for that institution, whose function is to oversee the observance of the laws, based upon the experience of foreign countries, to be attached to the Supreme Court of the Union.

Well, I think... [changes thought] there was also a discussion on the issue of joint authority, that is to say, of the powers of the future union bodies. There was no great disagreement here. We clarified what we basically understand by the agreement on foreign policy. We discussed this at the last session of the State Council. The outcome of that conversation was summarized as follows: there should be an agreement or treaty on the coordination of foreign policy. But a question was raised by the new minister of external relations, Comrade Shevardnadze. What is there to be coordinated? he asked. In other words, we need to have a policy. Therefore, we settled on a formula which envisages the harmonization and coordination of foreign policy, the principles of coordination. That also took up a substantial part of the discussion.

But let me tell you about the most important subject which we had to discuss. Discussions again returned to whether a confederation is a union or a state. Again, this was quite the most vital section but all the same the formula agreed at the previous sitting of the State Council remained. To be precise, the idea is that the Union of Sovereign States is a confederative democratic state. This line was carried through all sections of this draft.

So, some very difficult and important work at this important stage, examination by the State Council, has been completed. I think that we will take no more than two days to revise the wording. We will then distribute it to the addresses which I mentioned.

Well, that's all I've got to say. The closed session will now begin. I'll take my leave of you, if you don't mind.

[Unidentified speaker] May we ask you some questions?

[Terekhov] Mikhail Sergeyevich, Terekhov, INTERFAX. Just 10 days ago all the presidents said that it would be intialed. This is an internationally accepted norm. Do you not consider that this refusal is not due, as they say, to the good life, and if it does not serve to drag out the Novo Ogarevo process, then it does at least reflect the wariness of the republics' political leaders, which is also very unpleasant?

[Gorbachev] I think that here—let me put it this way—the republican leaders, to a certain extent, have displayed, which probably represents a certain political gain to them and room to maneuver, well, they have referred to the fact that this process will nonetheless be concluded at the supreme soviets. [sentence as heard] So this does not appear disrespectful on their part, in their behavior toward the supreme soviets. But in general, in international language, this State Council resolution does in fact amount to an initialing, so that a coordinated draft can be sent for scrutiny.

[Parkhomenko] Parkhomenko, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. A real war between Armenia and Azerbaijan could break out, if not today then tomorrow. What has the State Council done to remove this threat or at least reduce it?

[Gorbachev] You know, we are looking at this all the time. And representatives of the mediation mission, who have been at work in keeping with our shared desire and under instructions from the State Council—representatives of Russia and Kazakhstan—have met disaster and tragedy there. But I should say that my last contacts were here. I wanted this so that the main issue can be removed, the clashes between these armed units. People are dying, and in this situation a political process will not succeed. People are tired; they are harried and tormented; their lives have simply been derailed, and for this reason it has to be stopped. I have proposed that a 5-kilometer strip on either side of the border be placed under the responsibility of Union forces so as to keep things separate and deprive these guerrillas and other formations of the chance to fight and place people's lives in danger. You know, it ends up like this, generally speaking. These units are no longer subordinate to anyone. At least, the official authorities are unable to cope with them.

So, we have just been talking about it—we are having a break now, but we have agreed to continue the discussion. We will return to it, because the situation now is simply explosive, on the brink of real war. I believe the State Council should take a stand of some kind. But if we fail to do anything, I am convinced that this could rebound. We have to do something. We will continue this conversation.

[(Buskevich)] PRAVDA observer (Bushkevich). Mikhail Sergeyevich, what do you think? Is there still a chance of signing the new treaty in early December?

[Gorbachev] I think not at the beginning of December. However, something like the middle, or between 20 to 30 December is quite possible. But what we have ahead is work in the supreme soviet committees and then debates and approval, and the formation of plenipotentiary delegations which will be instructed to put the finishing touches as we decided at that time—the delegations were given such powers—and the signing. In any case, we have to do everything so that this can be done as quickly as possible, because nothing can be addressed in such a state of society.

While I was in Irkutsk I said this once again to your colleagues, and even in a republic that is relatively calm, more or less, like Kyrgyzstan, even there the main issue is preserving interethnic peace, otherwise people are simply in a very difficult state and in great alarm. Yes, Medvedev.

[Medvedev] None of us knows the text of the Union treaty which you were discussing today. Could you briefly tell us what the role of the president of the Union will be in it? Will he be elected nationwide?

[Gorbachev] The president is the head of a confederative state. He is elected by citizens in accordance with the law for a period of five years, for two consecutive periods, is the commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces, forms the government and everything that is connected with the executive power, and heads the State Council. You know, in general terms, I adhere to this formula, I defend it, I can see that my colleagues in the State Council are under powerful pressure from various currents, which place in doubt the expediency of preserving the state. I am sure that if we yield to these feelings, if we ignore the wishes of the people—and they are now more in favor of a union state than during the referendum because this is the only way that we can gather our strength, although even now it will be difficult to gather strength. [sentence as heard] And the people must know that it will be difficult, combined with the fact that we will sign and retain the union state. A lot has already gone away. Society has become so disintegrated, everything has been so upset.

And the people must know that it will be difficult, together with the fact that we will sign and retain the union state. A lot has already gone away. Society has become so disintegrated, everything has been so upset. But if we go along the path of creating... [changes thought] one of the members of the State Council who took part in the discussion said: Do we want to create a state or a cloud in trousers [reference to Mayakovskiy's poem "A Cloud in Trousers"], quoting Mayakovskiy, so to speak. I think the quotation is correct and apt. If we find ourselves in this cloud in trousers instead of in a renewed, reformed union state with a different role for the union republics, with different union bodies, then this will simply be a tragedy.

I will then make use of your conditions and will put this question before the country and the world. But, thank God, I think that such an unpleasant prospect is going away and I hope that everybody understands. I do not want to say that Gorbachev is the one who more than anyone feels the responsibility whereas others do not feel it. This would be simply impolite on my side. This is even more true since people come from the republics and they daily feel the mood and the pressures of all the trends and strata in the republics. Because the time has come, I only want to underline the following: Enough maneuvering over such issues! Let everyone say what he wants, and people will sort things out and decide for themselves.

[Reporter] [name indistinct], Radio Mayak. Judging from what you have said it looks like the need has arisen today to return to the paragraphs of the treaty which were considered agreed before. Does not such an approach make the agreement process more difficult on the whole?

[Gorbachev] Well, I have already told you that, as a matter of fact, we had to come back to discussing some questions, even fundamental ones. But in principle, we have come to the stage of coordinating. Nothing of the matters of principle has been lost, nothing has been lost.

[(Lyudmila Telekh)] (Telekh), MOSCOW NEWS. Please, could you tell us, do you still hope that other republics that are currently not taking part in the Novo-Ogarevo process will join the treaty?

[Gorbachev] I am convinced this will happen. I am convinced of this.

[(Telekh)] Precisely which republics?

[Gorbachev] I think that the Ukraine will participate. I cannot envisage a Union treaty without it. I am convinced of this. I know the mood of the Ukrainian people. I am simply convinced of this.

[(Peshken)] Mikhail Sergeyevich, I am (Nikolay Peshken) from the TRUD newspaper. Could you tell us whether or not the issue of our state's new name will be discussed further separately, taking into account the fact that the abbreviation "USS [Union of Sovereign States]" is already being criticized?

[Gorbachev] I am today citing the fact that this topic has been discussed quite extensively over the last few days. I have cited this. Well, I should say first, let us speak about how we should react to the section of the press which is discussing this issue and this topic. All comrades have come out in favor of keeping it as we agreed at the last sitting—the USS.

[Sorokin] Not very good, not very good.

[Gorbachev] Continue please. [laughter]

[Sorokin] Mikhail Sergeyevich, Andrey Sorokin, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. In what form is the issue of a sole armed forces for the union being resolved? In the previous draft there was a proviso that the article was being worked on.

[Gorbachev] Well, there is now a special clause on the Armed Forces, saying that they are united and that they will be administered centrally. Moreover, there will be a treaty stipulating new opportunities for the republics. In particular, the decision has been made that civil defense, military registration and enlistment offices, and construction units should be transferred to the jurisdiction of the republics. A mechanism for the republics' participation in carrying out and fulfilling central administrative functions is being elaborated. What is meant here is that the treaty to be concluded on defense, on collective security, will shed light upon all these questions. But the Armed Forces will be united.

[Sorokin] Mikhail Sergeyevich, excuse me.

[Gorbachev] That is not good, it is not good. Does anyone else have questions? No. Good-bye.

Gorbachev's Kyrgyzstan, Siberian Visits Viewed

'Found Many Supporters'

PM2611092791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by IZVESTIYA special correspondents G. Alimov and A. Ryabushkin: "M. Gorbachev's Trip Ends"]

[Text] Bishkek—Late on 23 November the USSR president ended his working visit to Kyrgyzstan, having spent two days there. M. Gorbachev was satisfied with the trip. The numerous meetings in the republic enabled him to compare notes and check his ideas against what is happening in the provinces.

"Many of my ideas were confirmed," he told journalists. "The meetings and conversations highlighted people's growing desire to feel firm ground beneath their feet at last, to reach the safe shore. That shore is economic stabilization, which, in turn, requires political consolidation and the strengthening of Union statehood."

M. Gorbachev met with a large group of academics and public figures. He visited the M. Frunze Agricultural Machine Building Plant, where he saw for himself what happens when economic links are severed. The plant is not meeting the plan, it is short of components, and order fulfillment percentages are low. The president also acquainted himself with the practice of peasant farms and visited the village where, instead of the former "Kyzyl-suu" kolkhoz, kolkhoz members, having leased land and livestock for life, have set up strong individually owned farms. The USSR president was obviously surprised at the way things had gone there. Most of the farmers have already paid off bank loans within a year. They are expanding their farms and learning how to handle money. In short, they are operating like true owners.

M. Gorbachev also had an informal meeting with the public of the Kyrgyzstan capital of Bishkek during which he answered all manner of questions. It was clear that the USSR president was not being received as an "outsider."

During the perestroyka years M. Gorbachev did not visit the republic once, which actually offended the inhabitants of Kyrgyzstan somewhat and made them envious of their neighbors, to whom the president appeared to be paying more attention. Interest in a visit by him had evidently not waned. A warm welcome was staged at the airport. The central streets of Bishkek were decked with welcome banners. Apparently, on the eve of the visit, following the old custom, there were rumors that there might be some extra items in the stores. Some local papers carried banner headlines—"The people of Kyrgyzstan have been looking forward to your visit for a long time, Mikhail Sergeyevich!"

Even judging by the first hours of the meeting, both leaders—Mikhail Gorbachev and Askar Akayev—gave an impression of people who get on well. President Akayev is an active supporter of the treaty on a union of sovereign states. M. Gorbachev used the visit to try to communicate his position on the way the preparation of the treaty is proceeding. The position is one of preserving the single political, economic, cultural, scientific, and technological area and forming on that basis a new democratic state in accordance with confederative principles. Obviously, the president found many supporters in Kyrgyzstan.

Assassination Threat Made

PM2511195091 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 26 Nov 91 p 1

["Own information" report: "Threat on the Air"]

[Text] Were there plans for an attempt on Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's life during his trip to Irkutsk and Bishkek? This question arose in connection with the fact that Irkutsk local radio broadcast an unequivocal threat against the president, uttered live on the air.

The RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA editorial office has learned from very well-informed sources that in Bishkek, a few hours before the presidential plane touched down at Manas Airport, an unidentified person called the militia and warned of a planned assassination attempt on the country's president. Another call to similar effect was made later.

The relevant services traced the numbers from which the two calls were made. One turned out to be a public telephone booth. The squad that arrived on the scene found no one in the vicinity. Apparently the caller had fled immediately.

The second telephone number belonged to an apartment. And the caller was a real person—a certain Leonid K. Detectives arriving on the scene found him in an intoxicated condition.

"It could happen to anyone when they get drunk, I was only joking," Leonid said, attempting to get out of it. It seems that he is not going to get away with this joke easily. At the moment, the investigators are taking it seriously.

Shevardnadze Interviewed on State Structure

PM2511163891 Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 22 Nov 91 p 32

[Unattributed DIARIO DE NOTICIAS/ECA interview with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [DIARIO DE NOTICIAS] Exactly 11 months ago, you tendered your resignation. Now that you are installed in your minister's office again, what tasks have priority?

[Shevardnadze] That is a question to which it is difficult to give an immediate answer. At the cabinet meeting with President Gorbachev's personal participation, we discussed the issue of building a new state structure and its political and economic relations. This is the first item.

The second is that we must learn to build relations with sovereign states—the former republics—and with their participation, we will jointly chart the course of our foreign policy. It is an extremely complex process.

These two problems will take the most important place in our work.

The third priority task stems from the fact that our ministry is also beginning to handle foreign economic affairs. We must try to perform this work more effectively, in view of the difficult living conditions of the people and of each specific family. Each family must feel the beneficial effects of our foreign economic policy more rapidly.

[DIARIO DE NOTICIAS] Do you believe that your return to your ministerial post will help to preserve the Union and will encourage economic and financial aid from the West?

[Shevardnadze] I can answer the second part of the question in the affirmative: To some extent, this will contribute to the granting of that aid and to increased cooperation.

This opinion on my part is based in particular on the messages which have already been sent. I believe that the credit of confidence remains at quite a high level. I hope that this will help ensure that the West's support for my country will have greater weight.

With respect to the first part of your question, I believe that what is involved is not preserving the Union but building a new structure, a community, a federal state, a state of states.

In this connection, I will do my utmost to be useful and to act in such a way that the ministry, which is currently being formed to replace the former ministries of foreign affairs and foreign economic relations, will be very useful and indispensable to the sovereign republics.

I plan to visit in the next few days the capitals of all the states and republics and to meet with their presidents and my foreign minister colleagues in order for us to try to define together the priorities for political and economic foreign relations.

Republics' Role in Foreign Affairs Viewed

PM2511122591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Nov 91 Union Edition p 4

[Article by Stanislav Kondrashov: "Without Waiting for the Collapse. How We Should Take Our Place in the World Again"]

[Text] Last week in Rome the NATO states' top leaders arrived at the conclusion that the world has fundamentally changed—and for the better. In short, this means that the old Soviet Union has disappeared and that one of the historic tasks of the new era is to peacefully involve in the world community whatever painfully emerges in its place.

This week in Moscow the main "perpetrators" of the changes will, among other things, discuss the question of how we should take our place in this new world waiting in anxious expectation: Together, by means of a coordinated foreign policy, or separately, each of us going it alone? The question was raised at the last State Council session and is unlikely to be answered in full at the next, scheduled for 14 November; the answer is more likely to come from practice than from conceptual theories offered by even the most experienced of statesmen.

However... On the State Council's instructions, the Union Foreign Ministry is currently clarifying the limits of the radical reorganization announced by Boris Pankin on 4 November. By how much should the central apparatus be reduced, if not by tenfold, as demanded by Boris Yeltsin, although he has apparently now retracted this demand? Which embassies should our rather incomprehensible state close as it has ceased to be a great power? Which should it close because of a shortage of funds? And which should it transfer to the two plus two system, i.e. two diplomats (including the ambassador) and two technicians? How should we abolish trade missions and replace them with trade and economic departments attached to the embassies? And how, given the general cuts, should we introduce new counselor-envoys or simply counselors from the republics?

As you can see, this has more to do with diplomacy at home than diplomacy abroad and, taken together, it adds up to the fundamental problem of redistributing power from the center to the republics. The young states cannot afford their own embassies—and they have no one to staff them either. So, swallowing their pride and working on the basis of expediency, they are having to agree to the old Union embassies remaining in place. On condition that these embassies primarily represent the interests of the republic states and not some amorphous center.

Whoever pays the piper calls the tune. The person who makes the appointment issues the orders. The republics are now demanding that the appointment of ambassadors go through them, or, to be more precise, the Council of Foreign Ministers. Created a short time ago and responsible for coordination between the Union and republic diplomatic departments, this body must have real rather than superficial powers. In appointing ambassadors, the council must confirm their tasks and strategic directives. Ambassadors must be accountable to the republics and their leaders.

That is the view of Russain Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. He never tires of underlining the point, as I discovered for myself during a conversation with the young minister. Kozyrev is dissatisfied with the Council of Foreign Ministers session held 5 November, the day after the State Council session, and feels that the people in the skyscraper on Smolensk Square still have not learned the lessons they should have from recent events. In his view, the Union Foreign Ministry leadership is continuing to take an evolutionary path at a time of revolution. It is trailing after events at a time when only one strategy is justified: to keep one step ahead of events.

"We are constantly on the brink of explosion or collapse as a result of this," he said. And he warned: "I only hope the building on Smolensk Square does not suffer the same fate as the building in which we are sitting."

The Russian Foreign Ministry is now situated on Staraya Square, in the well-known Entrance No. 3, from where the CPSU Central Committee International Department led the world communist movement and to a considerable extent the Soviet Union's foreign policy for many years. Just a year ago the Russian foreign minister's large office was occupied by Gennadiy Yanayev—as a member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary for international affairs. At the end of August Entrance No. 3 and all other entrances and buildings in the Central Committee complex were taken over by Russian structures.

How can the skyscraper on Smolensk Square avoid a similar fate? Things collapse when politicians do not work to take the lead. In the case of the Soviet embassies' future, Kozyrev believes that, without profound transformation based on the new realities, the situation could be taken to extremes, with embassies being divided between the republics. In his opinion, that would be the worst possible scenario.

The process of independence for the republics is primarily developing in the economic sphere. Union structures must serve corresponding needs; in the meantime, during occasions such as Nursultan Nazarbayev's recent visit to Britain, the role of assistant is filled more by foreign firms rather than by Soviet embassies. In Kozyrev's opinion, another equally important function of the Union Foreign Ministry and embassies is to draw the young, inexperienced, and, if you like, unpolished states into the school of "civilized international communication."

If the presidents of the republics only learn from the newspapers how the Soviet representative voted in the

Security Council and why, it has almost the same significance for them as the vote cast by the U.S. representative. But it would be quite another matter if the appointment of our UN representative were to go through the republics.

It is true, however, that some people are beginning to have doubts as to whether the ambassador of 10-12 or even eight presidents would not be like the unfortunate child with seven nannies. In an attempt to dispel these doubts, Kozyrev points to the experience of the European Community, where efficient computer communications make it possible to quickly coordinate a common stand on various issues while also recording dissenting opinions.

Of course, citing the efficient European Community system as an example is easier than transferring it to our country. But, on the other hand, a multitude of officials cannot be avoided if there is not just one person to do the job. Unfortunately, no appeals to logic and reason can contain the consequences of multiple authority or—and it amounts to the same thing—anarchy. We will obviously have to endure this feature of the transitional period and this variety of infantile disorder during the irrepressibly democratic, chaotic birth of our new state. We will have to endure it all and dream of its future civilized framework.

The chaotic nature of relations within the Union is being simultaneously seized upon by the republics as grounds for reluctance to subordinate their interests to a powerless center. It is also the reason for the storming of one of the center's former strongholds, the Union Foreign Ministry, which, in a last-ditch attempt to defend itself, has even given itself a new name: the Ministry of External Relations.

Explaining the Russian president's statement that Union diplomacy must be the "coordinator of the republics' international activity," Andrey Kozyrev said that reducing the central apparatus means transferring people and functions to the republic foreign ministries. Of Russia he said: "We would take over almost all of the Union Foreign Ministry's territorial administrations." In other words, all subdivisions directly responsible for relations in the Near and Far East, North and South America, and Western and Eastern Europe. The Union Foreign Ministry would remain responsible for disarmament problems, all matters concerning the Security Council, and, on a macro level, economic and environmental problems.

Preparations are now under way for Boris Yeltsin to visit Germany, the first such visit at the new level. The principles of Russian-German relations will be proclaimed—in a political declaration, if not in a bilateral treaty. In particular, the inviolability of existing borders will be confirmed (including those of Kaliningrad Oblast). Just to be on the safe side—in case the new Union does not materialize.

This caution, which is not out of place, confirms a harsh truth with which it is sometimes hard to agree but which is impossible to deny: We must go forward, because there is no turning back.

Pankin States Removal From Post 'Surprise'

LD2511172691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1635 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] New information has come in about Shevardnadze's predecessor in the post of the head of the Union's foreign political department. As Radio Ekho Moskvy reported today, Pankin, former USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated that the removal from his post came as a surprise. According to him, Gorbachev initially offered him the post of personal adviser. Pankin, however, refused, and then he was offered the vacant position of Ambassador to Britain. According to a report in KOMMERSANT, Pankin received the deciding phone call just at the point when he was thinking about new ambassadorial appointments, for example, about whom to send to London.

Yakovlev on Perestroyka's Failings, Goals

OW2511214391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2032 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The struggle for democracy is just beginning in this country, because reforms have not yet changed the lives of ordinary people, said Aleksandr Yakovlev, a member of the Soviet President's Political Consultative Council. "The perestroyka-related turmoil has not brought in any improvement, while the laws which do not work are of no use for the people," said Mr. Yakovlev. "We've not yet found a way of radically changing people's lives and mentality," he said. "But we can and must find it," he added.

On Monday [25 November], Mr. Yakovlev addressed the delegates to the constituent congress of the Moscow Writers' Union, held at Moscow's House of Writers. The nucleus of this union is the 930 writers who withdrew from the Unions of Writers of the USSR and of the Russian Federation on August 19 to 21. The board of the union is chaired by Yuriy Chernichenko. Mr. Yakovlev told the delegates that the establishment of the Moscow union "crowned the opposition to the OMON [special purpose militia detachment] trend in literature."

Asked by an IF [INTERFAX] correspondent about his visit to the U.S. which ended on Sunday [24 November] night, Aleksandr Yakovlev said that George Bush and other American leaders were deeply concerned not only about chaos in the USSR, but also by the political and economic situation in their own country. Such concern is caused by the recent bankruptcy of about a thousand American banks and by sharp fluctuations in discount rates, all of which suggested the approach of a deep crisis. Also, the American leaders are worried by the growing influence of the ultra right-wing forces in many countries.

Mr. Yakovlev said that his talks with President Bush touched upon "strategic problems of the future, based on partnership between the U.S. and the USSR." He added that by mutual agreement details of these talks would not be disclosed.

New Communist Party Secretary Presents Aims

LD2411112691

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1610 GMT on 23 November carries a 30-minute phone-in discussion followed by a clip from a 1930's film entitled: "The Party Card." The clip is being shown for the first time on television. It is a morality tale about party loyalty.

Taking part in the discussion are journalist Georgiy Kuznetsov, film critic Lidiya Mamatova, film director Karen Shakhnazarov, and Aleksandr Lapin, secretary of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee, the newly formed party headed by Nina Andreyeva.

In reply to a viewer's question regarding his party's underlying principles, Lapin says: "Our program, adopted at the constituent congress, sets out in detail the main factors and principles of our activity. We currently see the main area as ending counterrevolutionary perestroyka in the country, which has already led to untold sorrow and terrible suffering for millions of Soviet people. It has resulted in tens of thousands dead from interethnic conflicts and hundreds of thousands of refugees in peacetime."

Asked whether he is continuing the work of Lenin and Stalin, he says: "Our program proclaims continuity with the Leninist proletarian course of the party, which is identified historically and politically with the concept of Bolshevism. Our attitude toward the past is not an end in itself; our attitude to the past is a question of what we can take from it. We think that it is essential to take a very great deal for today from our country's historical past, including from the most heroic era, the period of onslaught and storm. I am convinced that a tenth of the enthusiasm of those years would be sufficient to complete perestroyka in two years."

On the subject of repression, Lapin says: "We believe that the issue of repression has to be approached historically, with due account taken of the situation both in our country and abroad, and with due account of the fact that there was a fierce class struggle under way in the country, which often took very unusual forms. We bow down low before the memory of many thousands of party members, honest Soviet people, who fell victim to unfounded repression. At the same time, we have no intention of rejecting what was done during those years, including the routing of the fifth column inside the country."

Asked who are the present class enemies of his party, Lapin says: "We believe there is no need to look for class enemies at the present time. We are faced with the most ordinary, the most natural class enemy lusting for power, balking at nothing. These include nationalist forces already in power in a number of republics, and representatives of the shadow economy, which are fighting for power with ever greater vigor through their political parties, and those representatives of the so-called nomenklatura who gathered millions and billions during the so-called stagnation years and are now successfully laundering them through various kinds of cooperatives, joint enterprises, and firms. We believe that the well-known consensus cannot exist between those who live from paycheck to paycheck, from pension to pension, and those who are selling off our country wholesale and retail, selling tanks and aircraft abroad while stuffing their pockets with tidy sums of dollars."

'Heir' to CPSU Presents Grounds for Claims

PM2511134991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Nov 91 First Edition p 3

[Interview with A. Stepankov, chief of the "Free Russia" party press service, by Galina Mashtakova under the rubric "In Parties and Movements": "Who Will Inherit the CPSU's Legacy?"]

[Text] Having hurriedly buried the CPSU, we suddenly realized that the "deceased" had left behind a massive legacy. "Children of Lieutenant Shmidt" [fictional rogues who derive all sorts of benefits by pretending to be the sons of Lieutenant Shmidt, leader of the Sevastopol sailors' revolutionary uprising in 1905] are now to be found in various places all over the country in the form of individual cooperatives and joint ventures declaring their rights to buildings, clinics, sanatoriums... Indeed, the mother party left many heirs. Soon we will probably witness a tumultuous "family" scandal. Because it is well known that when there are many heirs... But time will tell. In the meantime, trial balloons are being launched: Already three brand-new parties which emerged this year from the heart of a CPSU that has ignominiously crossed to the other world have officially declared themselves legal heirs. That is, through the courts, they are prepared to obtain the right if not to all, then at least to part of the property. The first was the former Democratic Party of Russian Communists, now the "Free Russia" People's Party, or, simply, Aleksandr Rutskoy's party. So it goes first. Party Press Service Chief A. Stepankov explains on what grounds "Free Russia" considers itself to be the direct heir of the CPSU:

[Stepankov] As for the property question, you know yourself that the CPSU was part of the country's totalitarian system and possessed a very large amount of property. The latest published figures show that the parliamentary investigation came across accounts (now frozen) totaling something like 6 billion rubles [R]... There have been reports that this figure could soon be R15 billion. That is apart from the real estate—palaces, houses, boardinghouses, hotels, and so on. In view of the changing prices, this real estate in Russia will be of a value 10-15 times greater than the contents of the party coffers. The CPSU's activities were suspended. Then there was a pause—it was assumed that it would continue to operate in some different capacity. Then the question of property would be considered in a different plane. But a decree by the Russian president banned the party—so the question of who will be the CPSU's heir remains open.

[Mashtakova] I beg to differ: The CPSU was not part of but the foundation of the totalitarian system. It was for that reason that the notions of state and party property were confused. Are you heirs to the communist party by birth, or are there other grounds?

[Stepankov] The "Free Russia" party emerged from the CPSU. Its story is that of the formation of the "Communists for Democracy" faction, headed by A. Rutskoy, to spite the totally brazen, conservative Russian Communist Party, headed by Polozkov, and this faction's subsequent merger with the Democratic Movement of Communists headed by V. Lipitskiy. The faction's tactics were to operate within the framework of the CPSU. Our grouping tried to recruit as many honest, decent Communists as possible. On 19 August we made a clean break with the CPSU, our leaders having been expelled from it and our paths having diverged. This gives us the right to act in the role of rightful heirs in property terms. In ideological and organizational terms that is impossible. Our party is in the very broadest sense a social democratic party. It is built not on the principle of democratic centralism, but as a free, parliamentary-type party with a free structure—platforms, factions...

[Mashtakova] Suppose the court recognizes you as the CPSU's legitimate heirs. What then? The "conscience of our era" existed on the people's money and was financed out of the state budget, as well as members' dues. What does the heir intend to do with all the wealth he is landed with?

[Stepankov] The best resources and the best buildings have to be returned to the people, for the needs that we are neglecting at the moment. That is, culture, education, public health. In short, where social injustice is very strong. The first step is to bring an action not for the whole, but for at least part of this property. There are bound to be other claimants.

[Mashtakova] You will have the same share as the other parties?

[Stepankov] Of course. There can be no privileges here. We see this as the first step toward the system of party funding that exists in the democracies of the developed countries. [Stepankov ends]

That is the view of the "Free Russia" People's Party. The next in line for the legacy are Nina Andreyeva's All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and Roy Medvedev's and Anatoliy Denisov's Socialist Party of Working People. It will be interesting to know how they propose to deal with the CPSU's illegally acquired assets.

Republics' Ability To Pay Debt Questioned

OW2511222891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2032 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A prominent expert in foreign trade told IF [INTERFAX] that he doubted whether the former Union republics had enough hard currency revenues for repaying their share of the USSR's foreign debt.

As was earlier reported, the heads of government of the 12 sovereign republics who discussed the problem of the USSR's foreign debt last week, instructed experts to define the share of each of them in the USSR's foreign debt before the end of November.

With reference to the official figures on the 3rd quarter of 1991, this expert said that only in Russia, export revenues exceeded the cost of imports. (It has exported goods worth 47.6 billion hard-currency roubles and imported commodities worth 30 billion hard-currency roubles.)

As for the Ukraine, it has covered only 75.9 per cent of the worth of imports at the expense of export revenues (Belarus, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan—about 50 per cent, Azerbaijan—40 per cent, Moldova—28.6 per cent, Turkmenia—230 per cent [figure as received], Armenia—14.5 per cent, Kyrgyzstan—14 per cent and Georgia—10.5 per cent.)

The expert agreed that the quoted figures should be treated with a reasonable amount of caution because they did not reflect many factors. And yet, in his opinion, they could serve as a warning for the republics which intend to repay their share of the USSR's foreign debt on their own.

Mass Emigration Foreseen Due to Economy

LD2511232591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The process of repatriating Russians and other nationals from areas of ethnic conflict will, in all likelihood, entail the biggest wave of emigration from the USSR since the beginning of the century. The inability of republican authorities to resolve the problems those being repatriated have to contend with turns these people into economic refugees. By fleeing the country, people save themselves from poverty, economic collapse, lack of housing. For many, leaving for the West becomes a question of survival.

According to expert forecasts, approximately 500,000 of our fellow countrymen will annually swell the ranks of economic refugees. This group was earlier composed mainly of those who fled African and Latin American countries. It is known that more than $4.5 million are annually spent worldwide only for temporary upkeep of economic refugees. In expectation of an increased emigration from the USSR, the Western countries will, evidently, have to increase this figure, big enough as it is.

There are also other problems, and hence it is not surprising that it is increasingly often said in the West that it is necessary to extend financial aid to the Soviet Union in order to instill in Soviet citizens a hope for a better life, and to convince them to remain in their own country.

Minorities, Republics Conference Held

PM2511131991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the general heading "News": "Road to Agreement"]

[Text] A conference of representatives from the sovereign republics and autonomous formations of minority peoples was held in Tiraspol 13-15 November. A press conference was held at its conclusion in Moscow yesterday by V. Kazantsev and I. Ignatyev, coordinators of the movement for the solidarity of sovereign republics and autonomous formations of minority peoples. They assessed the conference as the first step toward the reaching of agreement.

"We do not want to divide up territories or to set up our own armies," V. Kazantsev said. "Our aim is economic cooperation."

PRAVDA New Union Name Referendum Held

PM2511141191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 91 Single Edition p 1

[PRAVDA announcement: "PRAVDA Referendum"]

[Text] The initialing and signing of a political treaty between the country's states and former Union republics should begin today in Novo-Ogarevo. At the previous meeting a name was suggested for the former USSR—Union of Sovereign States.

As is well known, representatives of six republics took part in the work of this session. How many heads of state and government will take part in the signing of the new Union treaty is not yet known. At any rate it will hardly be more than eight or 10. But even if that is so, is it not too narrow a circle of people—even if they are invested with the formal right to represent the opinion of the peoples of the former Union republics—that will decide the fate of the new union's name? And if general terms decide also the very essence and nature of its state structure? Does this relatively narrow circle have the right to revoke the results of the all-Union March plenum during which 76 percent of those who took part voiced themselves in favor of retaining the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics?

The will of the peoples cannot be ignored, so the PRAVDA editorial office has decided to carry out its own journalistic express-referendum to ascertain the opinion of readers on this problem.

And so, your opinion:

—I consider it necessary to retain the name of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

—I consider it necessary to adopt the name Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics;

—I consider it necessary to adopt the name Union of Sovereign States.

Cross out two options and leave just one.

We ask that within five to six days of the publication of this newspaper you notify the PRAVDA editorial office of the decision you have made by letter (24, PRAVDA Street, Moscow A-137, 125867), by telegram (Moscow 748, No. 24 PRAVDA Street), or teletype (111164), fax (2002291) and also by telephone (257-37-20).

We ask our colleagues from the newspapers of the republics, krays, oblasts, and rayons (where they have still been preserved) to include their readers in the referendum.

We shall report the results of the PRAVDA referendum to readers after processing the data by our sociological group and we shall also notify the USSR president and the heads of state and government of the former Union republics.

TASS Carries Press Review for 23 Nov

[LD2311100491 Moscow TASS in English 0955 GMT 23 Nov 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—The key topic of today's national newspapers is Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's tour of the country, his visit of Irkutsk and Bishkek as well as the ongoing visit of Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Germany. Newspapers feature TASS information and reports on this theme from their own correspondents.

"In Irkutsk, Gorbachev supports Yeltsin's reforms and insists on joint efforts by all republics," the independent NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper writes. It quotes Gorbachev as saying that "none of the republics, including Russia, will be able to climb out of the crisis independently."

"New Russia and new Germany should have new and special relations," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA quotes Yeltsin as emphasising in his remarks upon the arrival in Germany.

"In Germany, they are well aware that Yeltsin arrived in their country not to ask for aid but to consolidate German-Russian cooperation and clarify the essence of reforms launched in Russia," the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper emphasises.

Among the events in the country, the press singles out the ongoing investigation into the circumstances of the crash of a Soviet military helicopter with a group of observers in Nagorno- Karabakh. The press features reports by TASS and their own correspondents from the crash site.

Incidentally, most of the newspapers emphasise, relying on the already available information, that the tragedy, in which 21 people died, occurred as a result of an "act of terrorism". It is reported that all Azerbaijan newspapers were black-framed on Friday [22 November], featuring obituaries and telegrams of condolences sent by the presidents of the USSR, Russia, Kazakhstan and republican leaders.

"I understand the republics that, being tired of totalitarianism, want only one thing—to feel free and independent," President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan said in an interview with the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper. "It will take time for fear to wither away. But I am confident that we will create a single state by all means."

Nazarbayev said the credit for the closure of the nuclear test range in Semipalatinsk went to the republic. He emphasised the need to recognise the equality of all nations in solving the nationality problem in Kazakhstan and deplored that Germans in Altay territory were leaving the republic.

TRUD publishes an article by its correspondent in Dnepropetrovsk I. Ostrovskiy, which raises the issue of the Ukraine's place in a single economic space. Recalling that the republic imports 95 per cent of oil, 100 per cent of phosphates and cotton, half of timber and newsprint, the types of the raw material without which a modern state cannot exist, the author expresses the view that "the Ukraine "cannot exist without its place in the single economic space."

Under the headline "Malicious Fabrication" PRAVDA features an article by its correspondent M. Odints, in which he denies a report by the Hungarian news agency MTI that 2,200 Soviet soldiers allegedly switched to the side of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 and were shot on the grounds of the USSR Embassy in Budapest. Describing the report as "an evil lie" meant to "cast aspersions on Soviet-Hungarian relations", the author points out he was in Budapest during these events. "There was nothing of this kind on the grounds of the Soviet Embassy and could not be," he emphasises.

PRAVDA features excerpts from Japanese Ambassador Sumio Edamura's speech at the opening of Japanese Evenings, the events organised by the house of Soviet-Japanese friendship and culture in Moscow. Edamura expresses his own point of view on Japan's role in the developing world, dwells on that country's problems and on important issues of the modern-day world and international relations.

"There is not a single man in the world who can call himself an indigenous resident of the Kuril Islands," believes Vladimir Kashporuk, deputy chairman of the Kuril Regional Council. In RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, he tries to prove that only the Kuril Ains, the last of whom died in 1946, can be considered the aborigines of the islands. "The Hokkaido Ains do not have roots in the Kurils," he contends.

Continuing publications on the search for the treasures of the world-famous "Amber Room" which was taken out of the USSR by Nazis during the Second World War, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA names the "exact" place where the historic valuables were allegedly hidden until recently—Thuringia, the Ordruf test range near Erfurt, eastern Germany.

In an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, Israel's ambassador to Moscow Arye Levin says by the end of the current year "it will be possible to say that 300,000 people left the Soviet Union for permanent residence in Israel in the past two years."

Evaluating the results of the Madrid meeting on the Middle Eastern settlement, the Israeli diplomat described it as "the beginning, the first stage." He thinks "colossal efforts" are needed to transform it into peace talks.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA prints a letter by Colonel Yu. Fedoseyev, head of the Moscow Criminal Investigation Department, to colleagues from Lithuania, in which he refused to assist them in the search for and detention of "the organisers of the coup d'etat in Lithuania".

Fedoseyev said the organisation headed by him "will not cast a slur on its reputation by participating in persecuting people for political motives." At the same time, he expressed readiness to give aid in detaining persons who commit crimes that are in the competence of his department.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN reports there are over six million karakul lambs in Kazakhstan and the republic can annually produce up to 2.5 million astrakhan skins for sale at auctions. "In this case, 'soft gold' will return to the country in a flow of hard currency," the newspaper believes.

"We reckon that the Crimea is neither the Ukraine's nor Russia's territory," Mustafa Dzhemilev, chairman of the medjlis of the Crimean-Tatar people, said in an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. "In the present-day situation, however, we think the re-drawing of borders is not needed. We emphasise that we are going to live together with all. The only thing we want is that we are not oppressed as a minority."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reports about the dispatch abroad of the remains of 214 Italian soldiers who died near Leningrad during the Second World War. "Russia pays last respects to bersaglieres" is the title of an article by the newspaper's correspondent on this theme.

In sections dealing with international events, newspapers focus on the Russian president's visit to Germany and the responses drawn by this visit, the situation in Yugoslavia and the Middle East, problems of peace and security and run reports from the world's flashpoints.

TASS Carries PRAVDA Review for 25 Nov

LD2511072891 Moscow TASS in English 0652 GMT 25 Nov 91

["PRAVDA Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—"If guns are fired, it means there is someone wanting them to," is the headline under which PRAVDA carries reports from the country's "hot spots".

The shooting-down of the MI-8 helicopter with politicians and statesmen from Azerbaijan, Russia, Kazakhstan and Nagorno-Karabakh on board aggravated Armenian-Azeri relations still further, the newspaper says. The parliament of Azerbaijan is planning to abolish the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region and impose martial law in the republic.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is strained to the utmost with both sides seemingly trigger-happy, according to USSR Interior Ministry official A. Rostovtsev.

A new public movement has been set up in North Ossetia, aptly called "Our Ossetia", PRAVDA reports from Vladikavkaz, the capital city of this Caucasian republic.

"We have decided that our organisation should unite people of all nationalities residing in the republic," the organization chairman, V. Lagkuyev, told PRAVDA. "The organisation's aim is to uphold moral, spiritual and cultural values created by the people above ideology and politics, avoid violence and defend human rights and economic freedoms.

"There are more questions than answers," is the headline of PRAVDA's reports about Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's tour of a number of regions that ended on Sunday. People who met the head of state "stressed again and again that the disintegration of the Union and the disruption of ties spells danger and losses to all", the newspaper says. When meeting members of the public in Bishkek, capital of Kyrgyzstan, Gorbachev said "we just cannot break up. If we let it happen, a collapse in inevitable. No one is able to solve problems alone".

"The Russian boat will capsize without opposition," economist Tatyana Koryagina says. One of Russia's left-wing leaders and organisers of efforts which brought Yeltsin to power, Koryagina now seems to be on the verge of withdrawing from her former encirclement. If the Russian president continues acting without opposition, a crisis of his power is bound to occur, Koryagina warns. If, in addition, the political disintegration of the Soviet Union continues, a social explosion is imminent, that will lead to frightful consequences, she believes.

Koryagina sets out her own concept for pulling the country out of the crisis. A strong centre, a mixed, multi-mode economy, competition and a symbiosis of capitalism with socialism.

Many Soviet women now have to stand in yet another queue—at the labour exchange, PRAVDA reports. Ilya Zaslavskiy, labour exchange general director, confirms this: "Indeed, most of the jobless are in this category—77 per cent of those who have lost employment are women."

Most of them are between 45 and 50, with a higher or a specialized secondary educational background and service records of 18 to 20 years. Unemployment is becoming a feature of our everyday life, PRAVDA concludes.

Political analyst Tomas Kolesnichenko discusses the problem of the Soviet foreign debt in the regular feature entitled A Viewpoint. Talks in Moscow with group of G-Seven representatives should be seen as largely a political event, Kolesnichenko says. The West for the first time openly acknowledged political strings to its financial aid: It is not the centre but all 12 socialist republics that must assume the obligation to pay off the USSR's foreign debt.

The former republics of the USSR which are now sovereign states are becoming actual subjects of relations with the West.

Commenting on the first visit of Russia's President Boris Yeltsin to Germany, PRAVDA notes that the results of the visit are quite modest. The newspaper points out that there are few reasons for an optimistic assessment of Yeltsin's trip to Germany.

Dialogue was conducted with the Russian leader as a representative of a strong political and military force which cannot be ignored, the newspaper says. In building relations with Moscow Germany will henceforth have to keep in mind not only the Kremlin but also the White House (Russia's parliament building), PRAVDA says.

As regards the signing of a comprehensive treaty of friendship and cooperation between Russia and Germany, like the one signed between Germany and the

USSR, this appears to be a question not for today and even not for tomorrow, despite the fact that Yeltsin voiced aspirations for this.

PRAVDA offers a political profile of Egyptian Butras B. Ghali recommended by the U.S. [as received] Security Council for the post of the United Nations secretary-general.

The newspaper reports that at a congress in London, British communists decided to reform and rename their party. The British Communist Party is no more. Its place has been taken by the Democratic Left-Wing Party.

Tereza Durova, artistic director of Russia's Iyul Circus discusses problems facing the Soviet circus at present.

TASS Carries Press Review for 26 Nov

LD2611080591 Moscow TASS in English 0706 GMT 26 Nov 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—Today's newspapers highlight materials dealing with the Monday [25 November] meeting of the Council of State at Novo-Ogarevo near Moscow.

The leaders of sovereign republics were expected to initial a treaty on a union of sovereign states. However, this did not happen. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT GAZETTE) points out in this connection that, as a result of the latest Novo-Ogarevo meeting, "only seven republics agree" to such a union while the Ukraine, Moldavia and Transcaucasian republics did not participate in the State Council's work altogether.

ROSSISKAYA GAZETA, in an article headlined "A Treaty on a Union of Sovereign States Has Not Been Initialled", observes that "only a regular stage in the preparation of a draft treaty has been completed" at Novo-Ogarevo. At the same time the newspaper quotes President Mikhail Gorbachev as saying at a news conference on Monday [25 November] that he does not "imagine a Union treaty without the Ukraine".

The same newspaper carries an interview with Ukrainian parliament chief Leonid Kravchuk who rejected the idea of a federative system and unambiguously declared for the Ukraine's independence.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, commenting on the State Council's meeting on Monday, notes that "for the time being, the Novo-Ogarevo process has once again run into a blind alley".

In the opinion of the newspaper TRUD, "the most complex things in the efforts to build a new union still lie ahead". The newspaper points to the circumstance that "in a number of republics, there are still a good deal of forces that oppose the creation of a new union".

PRAVDA and other newspapers, while noting difficulties in the endeavours to forge a new union, nevertheless quotes President Gorbachev as saying that, in his view, "a new union treaty is likely to be signed by mid-December".

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, commenting on some results of Gorbachev's tour of the country, points out in a front page item that "people in Irkutsk and Bishkek again saw an energetic Gorbachev when conversations turned to the destiny of the Union. Only a union as the state still can avert a disaster".

ROSSISKAYA GAZETA runs an abridged version of STERN magazine's interview with Vadim Bakatin, leader of the Interrepublican Security Service. He described basic matters connected with reforms in state security agencies. Touching upon the August coup attempt, Bakatin remarked that the next putsch, if any, would "begin in the street".

"Notes by Soviet Intelligence Chief" is the headline under which KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an article by Lieutenant-General Leonid Shebarshin who headed the KGB's First Main Directorate (political intelligence) over the past three years. The article points out in particular that the author began to work on a book based on reminiscences regarding his work at the KGB's central office, at the intelligence centre near Moscow.

Shebarshin also intends to write about countries where he sojourned and worked, including Iran of the days of Ayatollah Khomeyni and the period of the Iran-Iraq war.

TRUD runs an interview with Guram Muchaidze, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Georgia, who voiced confidence that "there will be no dictatorship in Georgia".

In an article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, Yuriy Shutov, former assistant to Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak of St. Petersburg for foreign economic affairs, who is now a businessman, portrays his former boss in rather unattractive colours, accusing him of numerous violations of moral and ethnical norms that undermine his prestige as a person and high-ranking executive.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) carries an interview with Colonel Vladimir Kukharets, commander of the National Guard of the Ukraine. Having mentioned all pros and cons regarding the very fact of the formation of the National Guard, he nevertheless supported the idea, emphasising that he would "honestly perform his duty".

The INDEPENDENT GAZETTE, returning to the subject of the recent military helicopter crash in Nagorno-Karabakh, points out that, as a result of the accident and subsequent developments, "a large-scale war between Azerbaijan and Armenia is brewing" and that "Azerbaijan lays the blame for the helicopter explosion on the leadership of Armenia". The newspaper points out the fact that "exchanges of missile strikes do not subside in Nagorno-Karabakh".

Economic

Foreign Debt Viewed After Moscow Meeting

PM2511132591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 91 Single Edition p 4

[Article by political observer Tomas Kolesnichenko: "Our Debts..."]

[Text] An event has taken place in Moscow which immediately became the top news item in the world press. It is being commented on by leading Western politicians, including President Bush.

At the same time in terms of its economic or to be more precise financial essence this event perhaps merits only a few lines in a newspaper or a one-minute report on television. After all in the end it is a case of a few billion dollars for whose payment the Soviet side has been granted a deferment until 1 January 1993. Compared with the total debt—over $70 billion—this is very little. On the other hand access has now been opened to new billions in credits—long-term and short-term, including U.S. credit of $1.5 billion to buy wheat.

So why has there been such a response?

The point is that the talks in Moscow with representatives of the "Big Seven" were a primarily political event. In that sense the actual fact of the meeting and its result are undoubtedly of great interest since it may be said that they officially alter the West's course in mutual relations with the former Soviet Union

Let us begin with the fact that for the first time the West has openly made financial aid dependent on political conditions: It is not the center but all 12 republics which must assume undertakings to pay the USSR's overall debts. Thus a substantial change has been made to the "rules of the game." On the lips of President Bush at the recent news conference it sounded like this: "We continue to cooperate with the center and to support President Gorbachev and his efforts to unite the different republics. We also maintain relations with the republics and we expect to cooperate with each of them separately and independently."

The last phrase is the key one because we have already heard the preceding one many times, reiterated like an incantation. Now the former republics—now sovereign states—are becoming as it were real subjects of mutual relations with the West. The question, I repeat, is a political one, if only because some of the republics have a smaller export potential than, for example, Bangladesh and Sudan, whose goods are scarcely noticeable in the trade records of the United States. And nonetheless....

The second important circumstance is that as a result of the Moscow meeting a definite answer has been received to the main questions which perturb the West: Do we have a real single economic area, what is the future of the new Union, and, finally, what is the main watershed leading the republics in different directions? I think that that is precisely why the condition was set that all 12 republics should sign a common undertaking. After all, Russia and two or three more republics would be enough to pay the debt. Having taken on the debts of the others, they would then reap the dividends in the form of new credits. Ultimately everyone is in debt, even the United States. The main thing is to get new loans.

But no, as lampoonists like to write, all 12 must give to the "Seven." As a result, it has been reported officially, there are nine left. In reality there are eight—the Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan have not signed. The latter has stated in general that it will decide the question for itself. The confusion as to figures appears not to alarm anyone particularly. In all commentaries the actual fact of the signing of the document today figures "as a positive circumstance."

It would seem that we can sound the drums—the West will help us again. Lines for short-term credits of $18-20 billion have even been opened. They are simply essential to us if only for the convertibility of the ruble.

But the refusal of four republics to associate themselves to the agreement at the present stage is a very alarming symptom. And not so much a political as an economic system. Judge for yourselves: The size of Soviet debts is smaller than the country's GNP. But whether the GNP grows or decreases depends on a single economic area. If there is no such area, if the hundreds and thousands of threads linking our common national economy are broken, then the GNP will decline drastically. And then we shall be bankrupt.

Yet all talk about how Russia is rich and will survive alone is in my view empty talk. Of course, it is possible to survive if you sell off your resources but even that barbaric measure will only defer bankruptcy by a few years. You recall how rapidly we ate up our "petrodollars."

At the same time during the meeting many circumstances emerged which justify the republics' claims on the center. For instance, until recently there was not precise information about even the definitive sum of the total debt, about whom we owed and how much, and, finally, about what these currency funds were spent on. But the problem is not the debt itself, it goes deeper. After all, all the republics signed the preliminary memorandum. So that it is not a case of them refusing to take on the debts of the former USSR but of being reluctant to continue to act blindly, as they did before. I think that if, for instance, they had been provided with all the necessary information in the past, we would have looked considerably better to the representatives of the "Seven" at the Moscow talks.

It is also surprising that in the future the servicing of the foreign debts and credits has been farmed out to the Foreign Economic Bank, which is still unable to understand liabilities and assets. It seems to me it would be better if the heirs to the Union debt were to create their own infrastructure or to assign the serving of the debt and of new credits to some large nongovernment bank. After all there are already those who, without confusing "credit and debit," have rapidly organized a profitable multibillion business. In brief, it is time to stop counting on old and compromised state structures.

The conclusions which suggest themselves sound rather banal. There has been a clash between the bureaucratic approach of the once powerful center and the republics which are independently gathering strength, between the old and the new, between localistic adventurism and common sense, between the petty politicasters in individual republics and the vital interests of the peoples of the whole country.

Yes, it does not sound new, but our common future depends on overcoming these "banalities." Today that is the only way of raising the question.

PRAVDA Reports on Medicine Shortage

LD2511195591 Moscow TASS in English 1548 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS—The amount of medicines bought out in Moscow's drug-stores within two days now is equal to that sold during one month previously, says an article headlined "Bitter Pills" in today's PRAVDA.

Analysing the situation characterised by the shortage of medicines, the newspaper points out that previously a half of the needed medicines were imported from abroad.

Upon the dissolution of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA), the member-states changed over to trade for foreign currency. Previously, funds were carefully invested in the Soviet Health Ministry's Fourth Directorate (the ministry's special subdivision to cater for the country's leading personnel—note by TASS) and in the development of the medical industries of "fraternal" countries.

The virus of such patronage did a considerable damage to Soviet medicine. Without establishing our own production facilities, we used to buy medicines from the "brothers". Hence the present technical backwardness, worn-out equipment, and lack of interest on the part of factories, and the drain of skilled personnel.

The country now produces four billion rubles worth of medicines, PRAVDA writes. This is ridiculously little. America alone spends 450 billion dollars for the production of dosage forms.

"State-fixed prices of 40 per cent of medicinal preparations (and the most scarce ones) discourage our producers to turn them out as unprofitable," PRAVDA observes.

"Wouldn't it be better to have an opportunity to buy all that is needed at somewhat higher price in a drug-store but at any moment?

"But as long as pressurized state-run factories and state-fixed prices exist, it is too early to dream of an analgetic," PRAVDA concludes.

INTERFAX Outlines Foreign Ventures

Israeli Diamond Cutting Firm

OW2611022391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2101 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report;" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The second round of talks held in Moscow between the Soviet state joint stock company, Muimaada-Almaz, and the Israeli firm, Rauhbard, is expected to end with the signing of a protocol of intent. The deal under discussion involves the setting up of a joint cutting industry for Soviet industrial diamonds with an output of 200,000 carats per year.

The Soviet side will put up more than 50% of the founding capital. The Israelis will supply part of the equipment, market the product and train the workforce. The joint venture will have two cutting factories of equal output—one in Yakutsk (Eastern Siberia) and the other in Ashkelone (Israel).

Polish Hotel Company

OW2611022591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2101 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report;" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Polish Budime construction company plans to open two hotels in the USSR by the end of the year: a 254 room hotel in Kislovodsk (Northern Caucasus), and a 735 room hotel in Kiev (the Ukraine). In the Caucasus, the complex occupies 1.5 hectares, and will include a medical center in addition to the hotel. The total price for the project, begun in 1986, will be on the order of 15 mn [million] clearing rubles (a currency formerly used between Comecon countries) and $1.5 mn.

With the participation of Budime, hotels have been built in Novosibirsk (Western Siberia), Pyatigorsk, and Nalchik (both in the Northern Caucasus). Two other hotels, in Moscow and in Sukhumi (Southern Caucasus) are also soon to be completed.

Republics Debate Contractual Electricity Supply

OW2611005091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2101 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report;" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] This week, in Moscow, all fifteen republics of the former Union intend to discuss moving to a contractual system for the supply of electricity. Up to now, the energy supply has been regulated by a single, unified energy system. The new system is expected to allow the republics, including the Caucasian and Baltic regions, to regulate their own energy-supply affairs, i.e., settle their own accounts for their own agreements with other republics.

At the same time, the different republics' shares in Soviet electroenergy export has yet to be defined. At the moment, the Ukraine conducts the majority of this export. However, only 10% of the Ukraine's electroenergy is generated by Ukrainian fuel resources. Naturally, other republics which supply fuel will want their share of the profits from exports.

Scientific

TASS Reports Satellite Launch 22 Nov

LD2511133491 Moscow TASS Inernational Service in Russian 1125 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 25 Nov (TASS)—The Proton rocket carrier launched another artificial earth satellite, Kosmos-2172, in the Soviet Union on 22 November. On board the satellite is equipment for relaying telegraph and telephone information, operating on centimeter wave length. The equipment is working normally. Incoming data is being processed by the computer coordination center.

Mir Cosmonauts Continue Research Experiments

LD2311041591 Moscow TASS in English 1829 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent from Mission Control Center]

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—The 130-hour technological process of raising a mono-crystal of semiconductive cadmium sulphide material in the "Crater-B" electric heating furnace has completed today at the Mir orbiting station.

This week Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalyev conducted geo-physical and astro-physical studies.

In particular, they used the "Priroda-5" photographic complex and the KAP-350 topographic installation to film the earth surface.

The cosmonauts have also prepared the "Roentgen" international orbiting observatory, and made a check-up observation of the Lebed X-1 Roentgen source.

The crew used the "Volna-2" to continue its experiments on testing elements of fuel systems of new space craft in flight conditions.

Thermonuclear Electric Station Planned

LD2511214591 Moscow TASS Inernational Service in Russian 1025 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By Tass correspondent Rashid Akhmetov]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Nov (TASS)—The first industrial thermonuclear electric power station will appear on our planet by the year 2025. It will open up the prospect for resolving the power engineering problem, according to well-known Soviet physicist Academician Boris Kadomtsev, deputy head of the Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute in Moscow. In a conversation with the TASS correspondent, he announced that agreements were initialled in Moscow a few days ago on the specifications for an international thermonuclear experimental reactor (ITER).

Academician Kadomtsev recalled that three years ago the so-called "draft planning" for the reactor began through the efforts of specialists in the USSR, West European countries, the United States, and Japan. The work was carried out in the [Max Planck] Institute for Plasma Physicists near Munich. Kadomtsev was the head of the scientific and technical council for the project. "Next come the specifications, which will need about five years," the scientist thinks. He assesses that thermonuclear reactors are between 30 and 100 times more reliable and safer than the existing atomic electric power stations.

The planning and construction of ITER will require about $6 billion, the academician calculates. The installation will be the prototype for future thermonuclear power stations. It is thought that the installation will be located in a West European country.

Military

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Editor Issue Noted

PM2511160591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Regarding KRASNAYA ZVEZDA"]

[Text] As was reported, a session of the USSR Defense Ministry Commission for Abolishing Military-Political Organs and Establishing Combat Training Organs and Structures for Work With Personnel was held 19 November. Along with other issues, the question of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's chief editor was examined. At a news conference held the same day the commission chairman named the candidate whom he intends to recommend for the post of chief editor.

Unexpectedly this turned out not to be Captain 1st Rank S.I. Bystrov, whose candidacy was submitted for the consideration of the commission and the USSR defense minister a few days before by a majority of the editorial office creative collective.

The editorial office leadership has received no official information as to why the commission did not agree with the collective's opinion. Consequently the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA collective has appealed to the USSR defense minister to take the editorial office's choice into consideration when he appoints the chief editor.

Major General's Move to Germany Viewed

PM2511142791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 91 p 2

[K. Andreyev report: "It Is Easier To Withdraw a Division From Germany Than One General"]

[Text] An incident has occurred in the Soviet Army that is almost worthy of a detective story. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's deputy editor, Major General Oleg Sarin, was getting ready for a well-deserved retirement. At any rate, there were strong rumors to this effect, and, as we know, there is no smoke without fire.

Imagine the surprise of his colleagues of the military pen when, instead of a pension and the quiet comforts of a dacha, the major general headed for the vanguard of the battle against world imperialism—to the Western Group of Forces, where he became head of the group's newspaper, SOVETSKAYA ARMIYA. To this day it is unclear how the order instructing the general to leave for the FRG came to light. However, it is entirely understandable from a purely humane viewpoint. He was simply worried about his children: How were they getting on abroad?

You see, the general's son is a correspondent for the aforementioned newspaper, and his son-in-law and daughter work for Radio "Volga" in the free city of Potsdam.

Colleagues in the Commission for Reorganizing the Army Mass Media were no less surprised. They were surprised—and summoned the general back to Moscow for explanations.

But he is not coming! He is not coming, and that is all there is to it. Germany is vast, and there is nowhere to retreat to—behind him is Moscow.

Tank Plants in Kharkov, Nizhniy Tagil Close

LD2411065591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2137 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Within the process of conversion in the Soviet Union, production of tanks at two major works has been halted. This was announced by General Nelyubin, head of a directorate at the Ministry of Defense. A RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent has managed to ascertain, from circles close to the USSR Supreme Soviet, that the works in question are at Kharkov and Nizhniy Tagil.

Kemerovo Internal Troops Threaten Strike

LD2511194991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A group of military economists, supported by people's deputies, has organized an economic association called Social Initiative, in order to ensure welfare protection for servicemen and specialists of the military and industrial complex.

[A. Kolpakov, Kemerovo] We have not been allowed on the other side of this gate, where a military unit is deployed. But, as we have managed to find out, rather serious things are happening here, or may happen here. A kind of mutiny among warrant officers has begun here. Internal Troops servicemen have put forward their demands, threatening a strike or a semi-strike. The Initiative Group today gave the commanders a package comprising 15 demands. Among them are a three- to five-fold increase in wages, making apartments available, control over the Military Trading Organization, allowing firearms to be carried when not on duty, and other demands. If they are rejected, no guards will be released to convoy those who have been sentenced, no guards will be released to carry out court duties, and surveillance duties will cease as of 13 December.

The ferment in the Kuzbass Internal Affairs bodies is spreading increasingly, and there are data that a joint protest action, mounted by all the services, is possible at the beginning of December.

Further on Manilov Defense Briefing 22 Nov

LD2211181191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1537 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Nikitin]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Nov (TASS)—Strategic Deterrent Forces [strategicheskiye sily sderzhivaniya] will be the name of a new branch of the USSR Armed Forces, created on the basis of the strategic missile forces, the ballistic missile early-warning system, space monitoring, antiballistic-missile defense, and the directorate of the head of space hardware. Army General Yuriy Maksimov has been appointed commander-in-chief of the Strategic Deterrent Forces. Aviation and naval strategic nuclear forces will be subordinate to him in operational matters. This was reported today at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists by Lieutenant General Valeriy Manilov, head of the USSR Defense Ministry Information

Directorate. The briefing dealt with the most topical problems of military construction and the life and activities of the Armed Forces.

Those present were informed that on 4 and 14 November the USSR State Council examined military policy issues and the functioning of the Armed Forces. The essence of the decisions adopted by the State Council comes down to preserving united Armed Forces which must function in a common military-strategic area. It was stressed that the status of the USSR Armed Forces, established by present legislation, be preserved on the territory of the sovereign republics (states). The proposal was approved to create a consultative body under the USSR Defense Ministry—a council of defense ministers and chairmen of the sovereign republic's committees on defense matters. The State Council also adopted a decision which obliges the Defense Ministry and the bodies of executive authority in the sovereign republics to ensure on their territories an organized call-up of citizens to actual military service in the fall this year in the agreed numbers. The briefing also reported on progress in implementing the USSR law "On the amnesty for servicemen evading military service." It was stressed that its validity ends on 4 December. So far, 220 of 6,000 servicemen being sought have given themselves up.

Lobov on Creation of Republic Armed Forces

92UM0154A Moscow TRUD in Russian
16 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[Article by General of the Army V. Lobov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff: "Why Do the Republics Need Armies? National Aspects of Military Reform"]

[Text] In the immense set of problems which have to be tackled in the course of the present military reform, the national problem is perhaps the most complex. The active sovereignization of the republics, the secession of some from the former Union, and the aspiration to create national armed forces and national guards, devise their own military doctrines, and create independent military command authorities and establish different approaches to military organizational development and the determination of their authority in this sphere and the authority delegated to the center—all this is engendering a huge mass of political, economic, legal, social, environmental, and other problems.

We will never escape the axiom that fundamental military reform is impossible without specific political, economic, and legal guarantees legislatively supported by the republics.

A central political question of military organizational development in the new state formation is and undoubtedly will continue to be that of the purpose, nature, and organizational arrangement of the Armed Forces. It seems to us that the numerous rounds of negotiations of the republics, both among themselves and with the center, have brought everyone to the unequivocal conclusion that the country's Armed Forces must be united, which does not, of course, rule out national formations and the creation in the republics of their own military departments or a particular infrastructure for their normal functioning either.

The principal task of the united armed forces will amount, I believe, to the military defense of the independence and integrity of the whole state formation. And only under exceptional circumstances, when, say, a threat to the sovereignty and social system of any republic which is a part of this formation arises on the part of a contiguous or other state and only in accordance with a decision of the highest authorities of the republic, may formations or units of the united armed forces be used to assist national armed formations, which would have constitutionally enshrined both internal and external functions.

I have had opportunities particularly often of late to meet and discuss military issues with representatives of the Union republics directly engaged in reforming the Armed Forces. I will say plainly that there is no unity of views on the purposes, missions, numbers and functions of the national Army formations: from a total rejection of the need for them, to an aspiration to create armed forces which are practically wholly independent and self-sufficient and under absolutely no obligation to the center. Well, everyone has a right to his own views, and the republics themselves will opt for the version of national military organizational development acceptable to them. Nonetheless, there are questions of principle, where complete clarity is needed.

One such is the purpose of the creation of national formations. On what principles are their relations with the formations and units which are a part of the structure of the united armed forces to be built?

Some people believe that the national armed formations (two or three brigades) are intended purely to protect government authorities in the event a threat to their existence arises and also to restore order in the event of some provocative actions capable of paralyzing the normal life of the republic or to participate in removing the consequences of natural disasters. The deployment on the territory of a sovereign republic of units and formations of the national and united armed forces, the procedure of whose relations and interaction would be precisely regulated by both republic and all-Union legislative instruments, is allowed for here.

Others insist that all Army formations on the territory of a republic, nuclear included, must be incorporated in the republic armed forces, which would be subordinate to their own defense ministry and have their own ramified system of command authorities and comprehensive support for the activity of the Army units. The main purpose of the republic armed forces here would be defense of the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of their state. At the same time, however, in accordance with

bilateral or multilateral treaties or with a single treaty on collective security, they could participate in the armed defense of the interests of another republic or the entire state formation.

The supporters of one further approach to this problem consider inexpedient the creation in their own republic of national armed formations. They are perfectly suited by the presence of formations and units of the united armed forces. But they pose the question here of a reduction in their numbers to reasonable limits and of a fundamental reformation.

Particularly keen arguments are under way currently around the question of creating a national guard. An analysis of the various opinions on this score shows that there is frequently more of an impetuous reforming urge and a blind aspiration to imitate overseas models and an underlying nationalist motive even than common political and purely military, professional sense.

I believe that haste in solving these questions and the inadequate forecasting of their consequences could lead to serious deformations not only in Army but also in social and political life. Why do I say this? Because the experience of using the national guard in a number of republics which is already available shows that one way or another it comes to be at the epicenter of internal social and political conflicts and sometimes becomes an instrument of destabilizing the situation in the region and a means of defense of the interests of one antagonist. And this at a time when we are talking constantly about the need to distance the Army from the solution of internal social and political problems and its noninterference in political cataclysms (the sole thing I would still allow here would be the legislatively and constitutionally enshrined right for the Armed Forces to halt mass unrest without the use of weapons).

Of course, whether to have or not to have a National Guard is the prerogative of a republic itself. I would merely express certain apprehensions in the sense that such decisions must be adopted in the most balanced and legally and politically prudent manner possible. Although, I confess, certain practical steps by republic authorities in this direction give me pause. Specifically, the fact that people are starting to be enticed into the National Guard by quite high pay. On the one hand, why should this be any cause for wonder, it would seem: If the republic coffers so permit, why not. But, on the other, just think: Will this not be followed by the detachment of the guard into some "rich" caste and military elite, which would be the unconcealed envy of the servicemen in other units—national or within the united armed forces? Will not such a step lead to legalized social and material stratification among the servicemen? Will this not bring about psychological confrontation between the guard and other formations, which, quite possibly, could assume other, more severe forms also (far from the musical comedy-like ones portrayed in his works by, say, the French writer Dumas).

In my view, National Guard units should have functions close to those of internal forces. But, either way, the creation of a guard cannot be allowed to lead to a destabilization of the social and political situation in a republic or region or, even more, create acute tension in the Army environment. All these questions require most thorough study in the context of the entire military reform lest they become a kind of detonator embedded in its just-revealed foundations.

I would like to emphasize once again the idea that **the reforming of the Army and the creation of national formations should serve the cause of consolidating the state, not its collapse.** It is military reform which should and could be a most important factor of our national rapprochement, without which clambering out from the abyss of a many-sided crisis is impossible. National egotism moving eccentrically in the defense sphere, republic localism, and a variety of ways of sharing out properties, arms, and material and physical resources could bring all of us to the point of standing on the ruins of our own homes. Political wisdom, balance, and a capacity for seeking mutually acceptable solutions at the negotiating table must prevail over the desire of some members of our multinational family, united by a most rich historical affinity, to lock themselves in their own republic apartment and tackle glaring problems in isolation.

The national aspects of military reform are objectively contiguous with economic aspects. Their epicenter lies in the sphere of the military budget, which, as you know, will very shortly be reduced by 40-50 percent. It will only be possible to speak of the precisely delineated amount of a new budget not going beyond the established framework following approval of the republics' conceptual approaches to the building of united and national armed forces, the determination of their numbers, structure, and extent of arms and equipment, and the establishment of the extent of the expenditure necessary for defense in terms of the entire complex of this infrastructure.

The sizes of the corresponding quotas contributed by the republics to the common budget, commensurate with the numbers of the united armed forces and the hardware and arms on national territory with their consent may, naturally, be established after this. It is perfectly understandable here that the republics' expenditure on the upkeep of national formations will not be included in this amount.

There is a need, I believe, for special authorities, both in the center and in the republics, which would strictly monitor defense spending. This would make it possible to remove needless suspicion and do away with rumors and ensure that each public ruble be used strictly as intended.

I consider it entirely expedient to create even now, under the auspices of the Committee for Military Reform, a group of competent economists representing all the republics which consent to join a system of collective security. After the general concept of the reformation of the Armed Forces has been coordinated and approved, this group could make specific economic calculations and determine the amounts of the financial quotas due the country's military budget.

National aspects of military reform are extraordinarily closely interwoven with the legal aspects also. It is important to work out and present for approval to the highest authorities a large package of legislative instruments determining the mutual rights and obligations of the republics and the united armed forces. For this is not only a legal but also a most important political issue.

The reforming of the Army and Navy and the creation of national formations objectively entail a search for fundamentally new approaches to the training of military personnel.

Unfortunately, it has to be acknowledged that all of us have as yet very hazy notions of the number and specifics of the all-Union higher military educational institutions, for we do not yet know the final version of the structure of the common armed forces and cannot, naturally, calculate the requisite size of its personnel. The bitter lessons of past reductions should teach us a great deal. National ambitions, an endeavor to dissociate oneself and sever relations as quickly as possible—all this could strike very powerfully at the interests of our taxpayer and bring about a colossal over expenditure of material and monetary resources. Is it today worth, for example, relocating a military school thousands of kilometers away if tomorrow it will be clear, perhaps, that nothing prevents the training with its resources of officer cadres of national or united armed forces?

We are now having to tackle questions which mankind has not known throughout its history. Who could ever have thought that there would come a time when nuclear weapons would be at the epicenter of interethnic relations and that it would be necessary to rack our brains over how to take account of the interests of all those both laying claim to them and those rejecting them. Nonetheless, reality is such that the rearrangement of the Union has confronted us with this severe problem profoundly which affects the republics' national interests. We adhere to the unshakable position that nuclear weapons must be under centralized control. Their removal little by little into national corners cannot be permitted on any grounds. Otherwise this could create a threat not only to the existence of the Union but the world community also. The more so in the present interethnic situation, which has in a number of regions reached "critical mass." I would like to believe that political common sense and state wisdom will gain the ascendancy over national emotions.

We are all today coming to understand more than ever that the solution of the political, economic, social, and defense problems of the Union need to be approached equally attentively and equivalently from national and internation positions. Military reform is no exception in this respect. An objective consideration of all its national aspects could and should be the decisive factor on which the firmness of our political, economic, and military union on new, democratic principles depends.

Radiation Leak From Sunken Submarine Reported

PM2611093391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2140 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Video report from the "Television News Service" newscast]

[Text] According to the REUTER news agency, Norwegian officials have declared today that they think radioactive fuel has begun leaking from the Soviet nuclear submarine Komsomolets, which sank near Norway in 1989. In their assessment, this does not pose a threat to the environment for the time being.

Baltic Affairs

Gorbachev Decree Renames Military District

PM2511213091 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

["Decree of the USSR President Decree on the Baltic Military District" signed by Mikhail Gorbachev on 15 November 1991]

[Text] In connection with the recognition of the independence of the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, and the Estonian Republic, I resolve:

1. That the Baltic Military District be renamed the North-Western Group of Forces, with the group command [upravleniye gruppy] stationed in the settlement of Adazhi [as transliterated] (Latvian Republic).

2. That Colonel General Valeriy Ivanovich Mironov be appointed commander of the North-Western Group of Forces.

[Signed] USSR President M. Gorbachev

[Dated] Moscow, Kremlin, 15 November 1991

Troops Appeal for Consultation on Withdrawal

PM2511124991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 91 p 6

[Report by correspondent Yu. Stroganov: "Fleet Personnel Discontented"]

[Text] Kaliningrad Oblast—Fleet personnel have now joined in the protests repeatedly voiced by representatives of the Ground Forces at their likely accelerated withdrawal from the Baltic states—this is what is actually demanded from the Union. Officers of the Baltic Fleet, along with servicemen of the Baltic Military District and Baltic Border District and veterans, held a meeting in the city of Baltiysk, Kaliningrad Oblast, where they elected a coordinating council and adopted an appeal to the presidents of the USSR and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the Baltic countries' leaders, and the Russian Supreme Soviet. "In the runup to the start of talks between delegations of the USSR and the Baltic states, neither side has attempted to find out our opinion on the prevailing situation and the possible tragic consequences of the immediate withdrawal of troops," the appeal says in particular. "All decisions on the timetable for withdrawal and the new places of deployment of troop units, enterprises, and institutions should be made only on agreement with the coordinating council. We will not leave our garrisons and facilities without ensuring normal social and everyday conditions at the new places of deployment of troops agreed with the authorities of the republics."

The collapse of the USSR and the critical political situation in Russia painfully affect us—servicemen, workers, employees, and veterans of the Soviet Army and Navy, our families, and all representatives of the Russian-speaking population in the Baltic states, the appeal asserts.

Shipping Companies Form Shipowners' Association

LD2611100391 Moscow TASS in English 0934 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Lev Frolov]

[Text] St. Petersburg November 26 TASS—Shipping companies of St. Petersburg, Karelia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have decided to set up an association of Baltic shipowners in order to promote the rational organisation of sea carriages, to ensure the fleet's efficiency and to guarantee commercial success. The new organisation also includes the northwestern and White Sea-Onega inland water shipping administrations.

"The sovereignty of the republics, which have their own merchant fleets, has not prevented us from finding a common language," president of the association and head of the Baltic Shipping Administration Viktor Kharchenko told TASS. "We have decided to coordinate our actions in the exploitation of merchant navies, as well as our chartering and technological policies. Plans are afoot to organise an exchange of information on the navigational situation, movement of containers and ships arrivals. It has also been decided to discuss ways to stimulate the work of seamen by paying them bonuses in hard currency."

Estonia

Chechen President on Existence of Nuclear Arms

OW2511172691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1506 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Dzhakhar Dudayev of the Chechen Republic, formerly commander of an Air Force division stationed in the Estonian town of Tartu, has told a BF [BALTFAX] correspondent that there were no nuclear weapons deployed in the town when he was serving there. Gen. Dudayev left Tartu after he had been elected chairman of the Chechen People's Congress about a year ago.

The Estonian newspaper RAHVA HAAL has published an article by a deputy to the Estonian parliament, Juri Liim, in which he claims that there are bomber aircraft carrying nuclear weapons stationed at the Air Force base in Tartu.

Gen. Dudayev expressed the hope that "the Estonian Government will be able to maintain control of the nuclear weapons if there are any in the republic."

Government Discusses Army Property, Customs

LD2511190291 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1000 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Statement by government press secretary Juhan Hindov]

[Excerpts] Today's Estonian Government session discusses the USSR Armed Forces' withdrawal from the Republic of Estonia. So far, only unofficial information has been received about the withdrawal of units of the Union army. With a corresponding resolution, the government today decided that control will be introduced over military units' transport and that any withdrawal of forces is to be coordinated with the State Chancellery. In this way, essential control will be exercised over any deals done in respect to buildings, structures, and other real estate at the disposal of and in the use of the Army. The government decided to stop such deals until a corresponding Supreme Council resolution is adopted. The deals already done may be in accordance with the economic interests of the Republic of Estonia but ambiguity with respect to the status of the Union Army in the Republic of Estonia and property deals conducted with the stepped-up withdrawal of the military units may also be the cause of the national wealth being scattered around. For this reason, the government decreed that deals done with respect to any property at the disposal of the Army are valid only when they are registered by the local government.

Mati Jurgens, director general of the customs department, acquainted the government with the republic's draft customs regulations for individuals. [passage omitted].

The maximum value of duty-free goods permitted to be taken out by an individual is 1,000 rubles. This amount will be revised monthly according to changes in the ruble's purchasing power. Hard currency may be brought in in unlimited amounts and free of duty. Undeclared hard currency up to a value of $1,000 may be taken out. The government endorsed in principle the customs regulations for individuals. Amendments and remarks made at the session will be included in the regulations in the course of their implementation. [passage omitted]

Removal of Military Property To Be Controlled

OW2511232891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2000 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 25th the Estonian Government passed two resolutions concerning Soviet troops stationed in the republic. The first resolution says that the Soviet Army property and weapons can be withdrawn from Estonia only after the issue is coordinated with the Estonian State Office. The second one annuls all deals on purchase and sales of the military property on Estonian territory.

As Toomas Puura head of the Estonian state and border control department, told a news conference in Tallinn November 25th, the Estonian Government intends to execise control over all property withdrawn from or brought in the republic by the military.

Mr Puura said the military are selling its property ignoring the republic's interests. "We are well aware that several deals on purchase and sales of the Army property have been made. A number of Moscow concerns expressed desire to buy the Baltic Navy's real estate. This week one enterprise is going to buy the Montu harbor on Saaromaa Island," he said.

New Customs Rules To Be Established

OW2511234091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2000 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 25th the Estonian Government ruled that new customs rules regulating movement of goods in and from the republic by individuals should be adopted within three days. On Estonia's western border the new rules are expected to come into effect on December 1st and on the eastern and southern borders with former Union republics—on January 1st.

Mati Jurgens, director of the Estonian Customs Department, told a news briefing in Tallinn Monday [25 November] that under the new rules private individuals would be able to bring in Estonia duty-free as many goods as they wish, expect for alcoholic beverages: It will be allowed to bring in duty-free only 1 liter of strong and 2 liters of weak alcoholic beverages.

Government Establishes Free Gasoline Prices

OW2611003491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2000 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a news briefing in Tallinn Rihe Sild, deputy minister of power engineering and industry, has said that on November 25th the Estonian Government decided to introduce free prices on gasoline. He said that companies or individuals importing gasoline in the republic can sell and establish prices on it on their own. So far, gasoline has been sold in Estonia by the state-run enterprise "Estontolivo" ("Estonian Fuel").

The government has also set quotas on the removal of gasoline from the republic. It is allowed to take out of Estonia without special permission a full gasoline tank and an additional 20 liters.

Foreign Ministry Criticizes Swedish Minister

LD2611152891 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1300 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Estonian Foreign Ministry statement; place and date of issue not given]

[Excerpts] Alf Svensson, Swedish minister of foreign aid, would like to stop aid to Estonia. He has given an Estonian war veterans' reunion as his reason. The Republic of Estonia Foreign Ministry considers it necessary in this connection to note the following.

For the first time under conditions of a democratic regime former soldiers came together in Estonia, having fought in the Estonian War of Independence 1918-20, the Finnish Winter War 1939-40 and the Continuation War 1941-44, on the Estonian fronts of World War II 1941-45, in other unnamed wars, and lastly, in the Afghan war. [passage omitted]

The aim of the ex-soldiers' reunion was to organize their social security and support to invalids and those living alone. Estonian war veterans emphasized at their reunion that, regardless of what uniform they wore, they have fought for the independence of the Republic of Estonia, for a democratic system, and their honor. The Constitution of the newly founded veterans organization does not extend its membership to people who have been tainted by collaboration with the Nazis or Soviet criminal organizations. [passage omitted]

The Estonian Foreign Ministry regards the statement of Foreign Aid Minister Alf Svensson as regrettable and is convinced that the public of Scandinavian countries will not allow themselves to be influenced by forces which oppose the Estonian rebirth and the democratization processes in Central and Eastern Europe.

Government Address on Citizenship Issue Noted

LD2511142791 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Estonia is facing fundamental political and legal choices and options. Alongside the drawing up of a constitution it is necessary to resolve the citizenship issue, which remains a source of concern to both Estonians and non-Estonians. The Supreme Council of the Republic of Estonia expressed an opinion on 6 November 1991 according to which it considers it necessary for the citizenship issue to be resolved through implementing the 1938 citizenship law in the Republic of Estonia. The Government of the Republic of Estonia hereby makes known its view on the issue.

The government is presenting a draft resolution to the Supreme Council to restore the 1938 citizenship law in the Republic of Estonia in its entirety as from 24 February 1992.

At the same time a range of individual problems arise when the 1938 citizenship law comes into force. The government must resolve these either through adoption of resolutions or through presenting draft resolutions to the Supreme Council.

To ensure a successful implementation of the Republic of Estonia 1938 citizenship law the government of the Republic of Estonia proposes to political parties, movements, and associations functioning in Estonia that they forward to the government—and make publicly known—their official positions on the issue of Republic of Estonia citizenship within a week. [passage omitted]

The government gives assurances of its readiness to resolve citizenship issues in accordance with the norms of international law and with all generally recognized human rights.

Latvia

Official Expects Soviet Withdrawal by 1993

LD2611122691 Moscow TASS in English 1147 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—1992 will be the year of mass Soviet troops pullout from Latvia, Talavs Jundzis, Latvian defense minister holds. He told the "NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA" today that the withdrawal should be completed by 1993.

Jundzis insists on a fast pullout, fearing tougher authorities may come to power in Moscow. "New leaders may emerge in the East who might change their attitude to Latvia," he claimed. "They won't speak with us as calmly, as the present-day leaders do," he added.

Soviet troops are "relatively quiet" in Latvia today, Jundzis said. But nobody can predict their behaviour if it does not "go smoothly in the East," he added.

Latvia is determined to take over the military facilities in the ice-free Baltic port of Liepaja, for which the minister will petition during his upcoming talks with Russia and the Soviet Union.

Latvia will also have its own services guarding land, water and air borders. The republic will create several mobile fast reaction battalions and civil volunteer corps, the minister said.

First Arms Shipment From USSR Received

PM2511143191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[Untitled report from IZVESTIYA, TASS, RIA, and INTERFAX roundup]

[Text] Latvia has received the first consignment of weapons since the republic proclaimed its independence.

The departmental newspaper has reported that 250 submachine guns and 100 pistols have been purchased from the Soviet Union. The minister of internal affairs pointed out that the weapons have been sold to Latvia at the same price as to union republics.

Soviet Enterprises To Be Given to Republic

OW2511124191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1151 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the information in the possession of the chairman of the economics commission of the Latvian parliament, Ojars Kehris, some 380 enterprises on Latvian territory which are at present within USSR jurisdiction are to be given over to Latvia. Relevant decisions have already been taken with regard to 295 of them.

As Vice-Premier Arnis Kalnins told the DIENA newspaper, 70 per cent of managers of enterprises within the military-industrial complex which are stationed on Latvian territory are "progressive-minded and willing to be working for the Latvian economy".

Further on Union Enterprises

OW2611005191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2101 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report;" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Some 380 Union controlled enterprises situated in Latvia are soon to be taken over by the republic. A decision has already been made for the transfer of 295 of these enterprises, most of which are part of the military-industrial complex of the USSR. The deputy prime minister of Lativa, Mr Arnis Kalnins, said that 70% of the management of the enterprises in the military-industrial complex located in the republic support the transfer to Latvian control and are ready to work together with the republican authorities.

Authorities Plan To Rearrange Ministries

LD2511213791 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1806 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—All departments of the Latvian Council of Ministers to be disbanded by November 1, 1992. [sentence as received] Director of the information and analysis group under the Department of External Economic Relations, Madis Ostrovskiy, told PF [POSTFACTUM] that the functions of all departments will be transferred to a number of newly formed ministries. According to Ostrovskiy, the functions performed by the Ministry of External Economic Relations will be split, while the Foreign Tourism Office will become a separate ministry. The Ministry of Finance will be authorized to deal with the problems of hard currency management, while foreign trade and customs service operation will be controlled by the new republican Ministry of Foreign Trade. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be assigned to coordinate the actions with international organizations. According to Ostrovskiy, the main purpose of this re-organization will be the increase of personal responsibility of ministers. Ostrovskiy said that the new minister of foreign trade has already been appointed, Edgar Zausayev, former head of the disbanded Ministry of Material Resources, which became part of the new ministry. Ostrovskiy said that new leaders appeared in 9 out of 17 ministries, some of the new head executives are also deputies of the republican Supreme Soviet. Thus, head of the new Ministry of Defense Talavs Undzis is also chairman of the Commission on Defense and Interior Affairs of the Latvian parliament. Federal Minister of Science Janis Dinevic is chairman of the Latvian Public Front parliamentary faction. This was made possible by the Law of the Latvian Republic of November 17, 1991 on reorganizing of government structure.

PRAVDA Reports Government Reorganization

PM2511131191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 91 p 2

[Correspondent O. Meshkov report: "Changes in Latvian Council of Ministers"]

[Text] Riga—A major reorganization of the top tier of executive power—the Council of Ministers—is under way in Latvia. The government is being restructured on the initiative of its leader I. Godmanis.

The purpose of the reorganization is to increase each minister's responsibility. Departmental leaders will be responsible for the course and pace of privatization.

The reorganization will result in significant reductions of the management apparatus, the abolition of several ministries, and the amalgamation of others. A large number of departments will join the new system of ministries. Nine former leaders of departments—health, trade, social security, the power industry, economics, internal affairs, and others—will have to seek new jobs.

The reorganization has been given a varied reception in the republic. Former Economics Minister J. Aboltins, for example, said the following about the abolition of his ministry and the institution of the Ministry of Defense: "This mistake could prove costly." E. Platkajis, former health minister (the ministry is going to be merged with the new Ministry of Welfare) [blagosostoyaniye], stated not without irony: "The Ministry of Welfare could become an object of popular ridicule. Because there is no well-being in prospect in the Latvian Republic in the near future."

Hundreds Gather, Urge Release of Prisoners

LD2411192891 Moscow TASS in English 1904 GMT 24 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Sugak]

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—Demands of freedom to political prisoners including Sergey Parfenov, a Riga's [as received] special task force troop member, and bringing to trial those who had made it possible to split the country and a toast to the honour of the Russian people, have been voiced today in Moscow by the Latvian Embassy.

Hundreds of people had gathered here to express their opinion as to the illegal arrest of the deputy commander of the former Riga's OMON on the Russian territory and give their estimate of the Russian Government's actions, as well as the presidents of the country and the republic. One orator gave place to another on the improvised platform among whom were Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, a USSR people's deputy Viktor Alksnis, representatives of various trends and groups. They urged not to believe fraudulent programmes and decisions of the ruling circles, not to cede the Kurils to Japan, expressed their doubts about supposedly voluntary committing suicide by the Soviet Marshal Akhromeyev and the minister of the internal affairs Pugo and others.

All those gathered at the meeting have honoured by a minute of silence a memory of Yuliya Drunina, a Soviet poetess, who had committed suicide not long ago. Zhirinovskiy urged all those present to unity and struggle calling the way of taking her life only as a manifestation of weakness.

Riga City Militia Aide Named MVD Chief

PM2511154391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Colonel M. Ziyeminsh report: "New MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Minister"]

[Text] Riga—Among the changes in the reorganized Latvian Government has been a change at the head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Z. Chevers [name as transliterated], formerly deputy chief of the Riga City Militia Administration, has been appointed to replace Alois Vaznis, who asked to be released from his duties. At 31 years of age he is the youngest minister in the current Latvian Government. There has also been considerable discussion of the fact that the new minister has no legal training. He received his higher education at a physical education institute and is a professional competitor in three sports.

Radically minded deputies did not fail to draw attention to Chevers' active involvement in the Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] and the party in the recent past. For several years he was even secretary of Riga Komsomol City Committee, but the candidate minister's "selfless actions" to protect the Supreme Council and Council of Ministers during January and August won him the deputies' support for ratification in one of the most important executive structures.

The republic's minister of internal affairs has met with V. Barannikov, Soviet minister of internal affairs, who was passing through Riga. Agreement was reached that a treaty would be signed between the Soviet and Latvian Ministries of Internal Affairs in mid-December.

Gorbunovs Views Jewish Killings at Ceremony

OW2511212491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1653 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The mourning ceremonies in memory of the Jews—genocide victims of the Second World War—took place in Riga November 24th. On November 30th and December 8th of 1941 the Nazi occupants killed some 30,000 Jews of the Riga ghetto at Rumbule in the suburbs of Riga. In the summer of 1942 dozens of thousands of Jews more were killed there. All in all, over 70,000 victims of fascism were buried at Rumbule.

Addressing a mourning rally at Rumbule, chairman of the Latvian parliament Anatolijs Gorbunovs urged Latvian residents "to remember that some representatives of the Latvian people were involved in mass killings of the Jews." "The clearance of conscience is needed to prevent violence which can revive in form of red or brown fascism," he warned.

Irish Ambassador Given Accreditation

OW2611131091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1100 GMT 26 Nov 91

[transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday the Chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council Anatolijs Gorbunovs gave the official documents to Richard O'Brian to make him the extraordinary and accredited Irish ambassador to Latvia.

Mr. O'Brian is also the Irish ambassador to Poland, where he has his permanent residence.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Concerned Over New Soviet Units

OW2511172491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1506 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of Lithuania, spoke on Lithuanian television yesterday, claiming that armaments are still being transferred to new places within the republic and new units are being brought into it without the Lithuanian authorities being notified in advance.

Mr. Landsbergis expressed concern over the fact that the Soviet forces were not giving their property and weapons over to the Lithuanian authorities.

"We urgently need legislation which would make the transfer or sale of armaments by the Soviet forces to anyone else than the Lithuanian Government illegal," he said. He also remarked that extremely powerful weapons were disappearing in an unknown direction, though he gave no concrete facts to back up the claim.

According to Mr. Landsbergis, "It is not the accommodation problem that prevents the Soviet forces from pulling out of Lithuania but most likely plans to stage a new putsch."

Official Sends Message on Troop Relocation

LD2511213891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Zigmas Vaisvila, deputy prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania, has sent a telegram to USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov which reads: According to the information available to us, units of the USSR Defense Ministry surface-to-air missile forces which shield the Ignalina nuclear electric power station [AES] are getting ready for redeployment.

Bearing in mind the importance of ensuring the security of the installation, we request that the Armed Forces of the western region be redeployed only by a special agreement with the Government of the Republic of Lithuania.

We also draw your attention to the fact that the undefined status of the units of the Soviet Armed Forces deployed on the territory of the Republic of Lithuania is impeding the solution of social and everyday-life problems of the servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces and of members of their families, especially as the deadline for making a decision on taking up citizenship of the Republic of Lithuania expired on 4 November 1991 and privatization started.

Therefore, the responsibility for dragging out the negotiations falls on the representatives of the Soviet Union and the officers of the Soviet Armed Forces living in Lithuania understand this. The Government of the Republic of Lithuania asks you to assist in speeding up the negotiations and setting up a corresponding agreement.

Deputy Parliament Chairman Meets Bakatin

LD2611111591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0200 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] On 22 November in Moscow, Kazimieras Motieka, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian parliament; Balys Gajauskas, chairman of the parliamentary commission for the investigation into KGB activities; and Egidijus Bickauskas, Lithuanian provisional charge d'affaires in Moscow, met Vadim Bakatin, chairman of the USSR Interrepublican Security Service. In an off the record conversation, various issues connected with the liquidation of the KGB unit in Lithuania and retrieving of the KGB documents removed from Lithuania were discussed. Many arguments were presented by both sides.

Among other things, Vadim Bakatin promised to soon send two officials to Lithuania. Together with other Interrepublican Security Service officials taking part in handing over KGB buildings to the Lithuanian Government, these officials will help clarify the circumstances in connection with KGB documents published by the Lithuanian press, on the basis of which Deputy Virgilijus Cepaitis was accused of cooperating with the KGB. Kazimieras Motieka quoted Vadim Bakatin as saying that great efforts would not be needed to clarify these circumstances.

A preliminary investigation on the basis of the two statements made by Virgilijus Cepaitis is being conducted by the Lithuanian General Procuracy.

Moscow Invites Representatives To Negotiate

LD2511144491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] We have just received a report from the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE, entitled: Moscow Invites Lithuania to Negotiate. I will read it:

The Kremlin has issued an official announcement about its desire to negotiate with Lithuania. This intention is explained in a Soviet External Relations Ministry note received on 22 November by the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs through Lithuania's permanent mission in Moscow.

The note states that the Soviet Union's state delegation proposes the start of consultations on organizing interstate negotiations as soon as possible. The note mentions the well-known fact, which is not officially known to Lithuania, that Eduard Shevardnadze has been appointed to head the Soviet state delegation for negotiations with the Republic of Lithuania.

The Soviet External Relations Ministry's note is dated 19 November—the very day that Eduard Shevardnadze was reappointed chief of Soviet diplomacy. Immediately upon being reappointed minister of external relations, Eduard Shevardnadze did not reject the possibility that the leader of the Soviet negotiating team might be changed.

Trade Accords Signed With Three Republics

LD2611123591 Moscow TASS in English 1103 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius November 26 TASS—Lithuania signed trade and economic agreements with three republics of the ex-Soviet Union, Economics Minister Albertas Simenas said upon returning from a tour of Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. He led a Lithuanian delegation at the talks with these republics.

The tour was productive, he told journalists. Azerbaijan will supply Lithuania with aluminium and brass sheet, welding materials, automobile tyres, wines, fruit and other goods to the tune of 112 million rubles in exchange for electro-technical equipment, machine and hand tools, and light-industry products worth 102 million rubles.

Wool will account for a large share of deliveries from Kyrgyzstan. The value of all products to be supplied by Kyrgyzstan next year is estimated at 170 million rubles. In exchange, Lithuania will deliver 50 millions rubles worth of electrical appliances and other goods.

Tajikistan will provide Lithuania with non-ferrous metals, cotton, farm machinery and spare parts for them to the tune of 30 million rubles in exchange for 20 million rubles worth of goods.

"All settlements with these republics will be made in rubles and at contractual prices. If, for example, one of the sides introduces its own national currency, then, naturally, the system of these settlements will be reconsidered," the Lithuanian economics minister said.

Officials Comment on Energy Shortages

OW2511123991 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1151 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuania's minister for power resources, Leonas Asmantas, said that "unless some kind of compromise solution is found the republic will have to stop its electricity supplies to the neighbouring states". He emphasised, hovever, that Lithuania would supply all the amounts stipulated in the agreements for this year.

"If Lithuania is still short of electricity after that," said Mr Asmantas, "we'll have to cut down our supplies to those enterprises which haven't been economical enough."

Mr Asmantas' deputy Saulius Kutas said that certain restrictions had been introduced on November 21, which, however, did not extend to the municipal economy or medical or educational establishments

Nevertheless the temperature of the water in the central heating systems has been lowered by 10 degrees, which means the average temperature in people's homes will be no higher than 16 degrees instead of the 18 advisable for health reasons.

Mr Kutas said there would be other restrictions as well if oil supplies to Lithuania are stopped altogether: hot water would be supplied to the population twice a week and television would not start working until 8 p.m.

Higher Fuel Prices Considered

OW2511123891 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1151 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The general director of the Lietuvos Kuras (Lithuanian Fuel) state-owned enterprise, Jurgis Ilikevicius, has told the LIETUVOS AIDAS newspaper that Lithuania is going to save some 30,000 tonnes of petrol a month owing to the restrictions imposed on the sales of petrol to individuals.

BF [BALTBAX] has already reported that from November 21 petrol for private cars was to be sold only three times a week.

Mr Ilikevicius said the ministry for power resources had suggested that the government put up the price for petrol to "at least four rubles per litre". One of the petrol stations in Vilnius is soon going to introduce this price.

Free Transfer of Military Property Sought

OW2511212391 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1653 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with the newspaper "ECHO OF LITHUANIA" one of the leaders of the Lithuanian Home Defense Ministry, Norbertas Vidrinskas, said that the question of free transfer of the Soviet Army's property, including arms, on Lithuanian territory would be certainly raised by Lithuania at talks with the USSR.

Mr. Vidrinskas said that after Lithuania was incorporated into the Soviet Union, the property of three Lithuanian divisions and some units, including arms, ammunition, fuel and food reserves, was captured by the Soviet Army. In his opinion, this fact alone gives Lithuania the right to demand free transfer of all military property on its territory to its control. Mr. Vidrinskas also pointed out that during 50 years of Soviet rule, part of the money earned by Lithuanian residents had been given to the military budget. On November 23rd the USSR Foreign Relations Ministry notified the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry in a note that the Soviet delegation at talks with Vilnius would be led by Eduard Shevardnadze. The note also says the Soviet delegation proposes to start in the near future consultations on the agenda of the forthcoming Soviet-Lithuanian talks.

Parliament To Investigate Cepaitis KGB Ties

OW2611131291 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1100 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 26th the Lithuanian parliament intends to discuss the bill on "de-sovietization," the "BALTFAX" correspondent in Vilnius reports. The bill proposes the liquidation of all Soviet structures on Lithuanian territory, including the KGB.

This document is particularly interesting to the deputies because Deputy Virgilijus Cepaitis helped develop it.

Earlier, some Lithuanian newspapers carried stories that Chepaitis had connections with the KGB.

According to our correspondent, a picket line defending Cepaitis has formed outside the Lithuanian Supreme Council building in Vilnius. The picketers claim that the accusations about Cepaitis are "Communist and KGB games."

On November 26th, the newspaper "REPUBLIC" ran a report on the parliamentary commission meeting on KGB liquidation, which took place November 14th immediately after information on Cepaitis' ties with the KGB was made public. The "REPUBLIC's" report testifies that Cepaitis has admitted to "certain contacts with the KGB."

In conjunction with the report in the "REPUBLIC" the commission on KGB liquidation intends to come to a decision on this issue at their meeting on November 26th.

At the meeting of parliament this morning Deputy Kazimeras Antanavichjus demanded that Cepaitis' deputy's powers be suspended.

Baltic Exchange To Sell Hard Currency at Auctions

OW2611002491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2000 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian Government has granted the Baltic Exchange the right to hold auctions for selling hard currency beginning from December 1st 1991.

Supreme Soviet

Further Debates Over Yeltsin Decrees Noted

PM2511161591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Olga Burkaleva and Robert Minasov report under the general headline "Fourth Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Session. Parliament Rejects President's Decree"]

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet 22 November morning session was spent discussing the draft RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] presidential decrees and Supreme Soviet resolutions "On Financial and Credit Support for Economic Reform and Reorganization of the RSFSR Banking System."

The heat of the polemics over these two documents rose by the minute and reached its apogee by the time a short break was suggested, when Deputy Vladimir Varov reckoned that the draft resolution was not worked out clearly enough and the wordings in it were not "honed," and therefore proposed that a commission be formed to get the document up to the required standard. Parliament agreed with Varov's proposal and took a break.

Thus, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet rejected the president's draft decree by an overwhelming majority of votes. The Russian head of state's representatives—State Counselor Sergey Shakray, Aleksandr Shokhin, deputy chairman of the RSFSR government and minister of labor and employment for the RSFSR population, and Anatoliy Chubays, chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Administering State Property—did not succeed in defending him.

Frankly speaking, they all endeavored to prove the unprovable when, for instance, they denied that the presidential decree contained an attempt to subordinate the RSFSR Central Bank to the RSFSR Government. This can be clearly seen in Point 7 of the the draft decree.

Parliament also rejected the draft decree because it virtually abolishes the USSR banking system, while the creation of an interbank union is envisaged by the economic agreement signed by several former Union republics. At the same time, the draft Supreme Soviet resolution adopted as a basis at the morning session notes: "The RSFSR Central Bank is to be considered the only organ of state financial, credit, and currency policy on RSFSR territory."

By and large much of the presidential decree's content has migrated to the draft Supreme Soviet resolution. Ruslan Khasbulatov's rejoinder is all the more understandable: "Dear executives, we respect and love you, but you must not encroach on legislative power. Let us work amicably. I do not understand why these decrees (Khasbulatov meant the latest decrees already signed by the president—R.M.) are not getting to us before they have been signed?"

This kind of uncoordinated action produces conflicts that are impermissible in a legal society.

The Supreme Soviet, through its chairman, its deputies Yarov, Voronin, and Shumeyko, and the many deputies who took part in the debate, assured the president's representatives that they are ready for close cooperation with the government and will assist the economic reforms in any way they can, but the supreme legislative organ must not be ignored.

Is the government listening?

Ambitions should be restrained.

The people's deputies considered the draft RSFSR resolution "On Creating a Russian State Valuables Depository (RSFSR Gokhran) and Organizing State Control Over the Utilization of Precious Metals and Precious Stones on RSFSR Territory" and sent it for finalization.

Government Put 'In Its Place'

PM2611153991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by parliamentary correspondent G. Shipitko: "Parliamentary Decision in Yeltsin's Absence"]

[Text] That about which so much has been said and written lately has happened. At the 22 November session the Russian legislators decided to have a showdown with the executive. The cause of this was the draft decree by the Russian president "On Financial and Credit Support for Economic Reform and Reorganization of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Banking System."

After a long debate the Supreme Soviet practically unanimously rejected the draft on reforming the banking system. In so doing, it firmly and clearly told B. Yeltsin that it no longer intended to follow the president's orders, but was quite capable of having an independent policy. The decision was no mere formal assessment of the draft decree. It was the idea behind it that was being rejected. The executive was accused of wanting to print money, as was the case not so long ago. According to the deputies, this would totally disrupt the money supply and mean that the Supreme Soviet had no control over the budget.

The reaction by representatives of the Cabinet of Ministers was unequivocal. The Supreme Soviet's decision obstructs the implementation of economic reform in Russia. Moreover, it repudiates the decisions of the last two Congresses of People's Deputies on granting emergency powers to the Russian president for the transitional period.

There is no need to go into the details of each side's arguments. As you can imagine, during the discussion of the draft decree there were innumerable references to the law, to the critical state of the economy, to the opinion of the electorate, and to world experience. It is more important to consider the fact that without legal support in relations with the Russian Bank, the executive and the president himself are in a difficult position.

According to B. Yeltsin, the Russian Central Bank, "instead of forming in Russia a new banking system geared to market conditions, has placed virtually insurmountable obstacles in the way of creating new banks." The president explained his view in a memorandum to the Supreme Soviet, but as the legislators themselves admitted, they had been unable to "acquaint themselves in detail" either with it or, in fact, with the draft decree. The result was a resolution postponing by at least a month the entry into effect of the decree and consequently the new Russian Government's reformist steps. Given the spread of positions, it is hard to refrain from retorting: Is this not a Pyrrhic victory for the legislators when the rate of inflation is simply catastrophic?

In the seven months since the "Pavlovian" increase in prices of food and industrial goods, according to official data, the cost of them has increased 3.3 times. In these conditions, following the liberalization of prices announced by B. Yeltsin, the time lost in stabilizing finances could result in an even greater price hike, but that is the will of the Russian Supreme Soviet, which, to all appearances, had decided to put the Russian Government in its place, and the president as well.

The subsequent discussion of another presidential decree "On the Extraction and Use of Precious Metals and Diamonds on RSFSR Territory" merely confirmed RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman R. Khasbulatov's words to the effect that "one should not encroach on that which belongs to the executive." While there was general agreement with the decree, it was thought that it needed to be "improved." In the end it was uncertain what form the RSFSR State Depository would take. It is intended to keep the gold reserve in the Russian Central Bank, while other precious metals, and precious stones as well, will be kept in the State Depository at the Ministry of Economics and Finance.

Plan for Overseas News Offices Approved

LD2511202691 Moscow TASS Inernational Service in Russian 1811 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Nov (TASS)—A plan to site Russian newspaper offices in 35 countries has been approved by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium. These offices are being set up on the basis of the corresponding subdivisions of central newspapers which do not have the hard currency to maintain them. The RSFSR Supreme Soviet is to adopt a decision on allocating the offices of Russian newspapers abroad 1,594,000 hard currency rubles.

'Special Group' To Visit Karachayevo-Cherkessk

LD2511203191 Moscow TASS Inernational Service in Russian 1946 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 25 Nov (TASS)—A special group will be sent to Karachayevo-Cherkessia to stabilize the situation in the North Caucasus. This decision, the Russian Supreme Soviet press center reports, was adopted today at the latest sitting of the commission on ethnic-state construction and interethnic relations.

Decision on Protecting Judges, Courts Adopted

LD2611043291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Today the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet adopted a decision on protecting the work of judges and the Russian Constitutional Court. In accordance with this decision, members of the Constitutional Court will be given the right of access to enterprises, establishments, and organizations situated on the territory of the RSFSR, and the right to free passage for all forms of transportation at the expense of the republican budget. Throughout their work, as members of the Constitutional Court—up to the age of 65—they will have diplomatic status and will not be liable to personal examination.

The decision also provides for the annual issue of gowns to judges through the funds of the republican budget. The amount of representative expenditure to the sum of 25 percent of the annual salary, for which no accountability is required, as well as the use of a service car fitted with special means, gave rise to some doubts among the members of the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet. These points will be edited, although for the most part the decision was adopted today.

Deputies Disagree on Wage, Money Plans

LD2611112391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] According to the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY, Sergey Filatov and Vladimir Shumeyko, deputy chairmen of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, do not agree that the Russian parliament's decision to raise the minimum wage and pensions to 342 rubles per month is antigovernment. They stated their position at a meeting with journalists late last night. According to Shumeyko, the decision ensues from the RSFSR presidential decree to raise salaries in state-financed organizations by 90 percent.

Vladimir Shokhin, deputy chairman of the Russian parliament, works with the coordinating committee for the draft ruling in question. As to whether the money printing presses are powerful enough, Shumeyko suggested printing larger denomination notes, up to 10,000 ruble notes, and using 50 and 100 ruble notes requisitioned under the Pavlov reform.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Issues More Governmental Decrees

On Regional Economic Bodies

PM2511141991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Nov 91 First Edition p 7

[Decree of the president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic "On Ensuring Conditions for Enhancing the Role of and Cooperation Between Republics Within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, Autonomous Formations, Krays, and Oblasts in Implementing Radical Economic Reform"]

[Text] In order to create the necessary conditions to guarantee the accelerated implementation of radical economic reform and to these ends bolster the development of opportunities for national-state, national-territorial, and administrative-territorial formations to coordinate the utilization of their economic potential, and to work out the principles of shaping a single economic area within the framework of the Russian Federation, I resolve:

1. The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Government and the RSFSR presidential administration must support the initiative of territories and create the necessary conditions for forming and developing regional associations for economic collaboration for the purpose of working out new methods for managing the national economy in the conditions of decentralized economy and market relations and elaborating the procedure for adopting joint decisions on questions of developing national-state, national-territorial, and administrative-territorial formations, and methods for the population's social protection during the transition to the market.

2. To lay down that regional associations for economic collaboration (associations) are voluntary associations of republics within the RSFSR, of national-territorial and administrative-territorial formations, and of the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg for production, economic, scientific, technical, and social development within the framework of jointly adopted programs.

3. The RSFSR Government, jointly with the councils of ministers of republics within the RSFSR and autonomous entity, kray, and oblast organs of executive power, are to elaborate and ratify the legal foundations for the formation and activity of associations by 15 November 1991, bearing in mind that:

the organs of state power and management of republics within the RSFSR, autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, krays, oblasts, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg can be founders of regional associations;

a regional association's rights cannot prevail over the rights of its founders as enshrined in the RSFSR Constitution and other legislative and normative acts, and are defined only within the framework of powers delegated to it on behalf of the founders' meeting;

an association is vested with the rights of a corporate body;

an association's leadership is empowered, on behalf of its founders, to represent their interests in state and other management organs within the bounds of its delegated powers;

the type of activity, proportional participation, and the right to profit from the end result within the framework of the association are laid down by the constituent treaty, which also defines the order and procedure for adopting decisions on all questions comcerning the association's work;

the association is not responsible for the formation of its founders' budgets and their execution;

association statutes are ratified by the founders' meeting and registered by the RSFSR Ministry of Justice in agreement with the Ministry of the Economy and Finance;

the organizational form of the association's management within the framework of the stipulated economic and legal status is determined by the founders' meeting;

association founders may participate in other associations;

an association's supreme management organ is the Council, comprising the top officials of national-state, national-territorial, and administrative-territorial formations or persons authorized to represent the founders by decision of the supreme soviets of republics within the RSFSR or by okrug, kray, and oblast soviets of people's deputies. The rights and powers of the Council, chairman (president) of the Council, and the rotation terms are defined in the constituent treaty.

4. It is deemed expedient to use an Economic Development Program as the targeted and organizational basis for the attainment of the association's main tasks.

The program defines the main aims and the methods and means of attaining them, and it is compiled and ratified by the association's Council. A program administration will be tasked with the program's management.

On proposal by the association's Council, the program administration leader is appointed by the RSFSR Government.

The Program Administration compiles specific subprograms and arranges sources of financial and material support, lays down deadlines for implementing the program as a whole and its sub-programs, ensures the leadership and coordination of their fulfillment, and reports back to the association's Council.

The founders' industrial, scientific, and technical potential is used for the purposes of implementing the program and arranging the necessary financial sources and material resources, and any necessary commercial structures can also be created.

5. It is deemed expedient to set up a fund for implementing the program as the basic organizational structure ensuring the formation of sources to finance the program.

The RSFSR Government in conjunction with the founders must elaborate and ratify the procedure for forming and utilizing the fund for implementing the program.

6. The program administration and the fund for implementing the program are accountable to the association's Council as regards financial and economic questions and other forms of activity.

It is encumbent upon the association's Council to monitor and audit the activity of the organizational structures created. The procedure and timing of audits are laid down by the founders' meeting.

7. The RSFSR Government must:

examine the question of delegating additional powers to regional associations during the transition period in order to ensure an accelerated implementation of radical economic reform;

elaborate, jointly with association councils, industry's structure and management model during its reorganization and transition to market relations;

ensure the examination and implementation of decisions by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman on all previously created associations.

[Signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin

The Kremlin, Moscow, 11 November 1991

On Marine Ministry

LD2411092291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Text] In accordance with a decree by Yeltsin, a Marine Ministry of Russia [Morskoy Departament Rossii] has been established. Its functions and tasks are being determined by directive bodies. In the view of Gennadiy Gerasimchuk, deputy minister of the USSR Maritime Fleet, preserving the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet for the transitional period will yield no results. What is necessary now is a Russian Government department in active operation, empowered to act on behalf of the Russian Government to conclude treaties on cooperation with the republics of the Baltics, Ukraine, and Georgia, the deputy minister said.

On Nuclear Research Institute

LD2211184291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Nov 91

[Text] It has been decided to create the Kurchatov Institute [Kurchatovskiy Institut], a Russian scientific center, on the basis of the Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute [Institut Automnoy Energii imeni Kurchatova]. The decree of the president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic notes that this decision has been adopted to create the necessary conditions to further the research and development carried out by the Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute.

Yeltsin Grants Patriarchate Use of Churches

LD2411071191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, president of Russia, signed a decree allowing the Moscow Patriarchate to use some of the Kremlin churches. This decision was made by Yeltsin following an appeal from Aleksiy II, patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and a proposal from the Moscow city soviet of people's deputies. The Moscow Patriarchate is allowed to use the churches on the territory of the Moscow Kremlin, together with all the objects they contain, in accordance with their ritual purpose. Assumption, Annunciation, and Archangel cathedrals are being handed over to the church, as well as the Twelve Apostles church, the church of (?St. John of the Ladder) with the Ivan the Great belltower, the church of the Deposition of the Robes, and the Cathedral of the Protecive Veil, also known as the Cathedral of Bazil the Blessed, in Red Square. The Cathedral of the Assumption will be used as the patriarchal cathedral church. The preservation of the churches' cultural and material values will be ensured by the Moscow Patriarchate, jointly with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Interior Ministry, the Russian Ministry of Culture, and the the commandant's office of the Moscow Kremlin.

Defense Industry Trade Unions Established

LD2111143491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1839 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 20 Nov (TASS)—The centrifugal tendencies in the defense industry, as in all the Soviet economy, have led to the creation of the All-Russian Trade Union of Workers of the Defense Industry. It has been established today in Moscow. The republican trade union, which has united nearly 80 percent of the workers of Soviet military plants and scientific research centers, has taken upon itself the special task of their social protection under market conditions. Independent from any state, enterprise, or public organization, the new trade union center intends to build its relations with these on the basis of equal partnership.

Similar republican structures have already been created in Belarus [Belorussia] and Azerbaijan, and the founding congress will take place in the Ukraine in December. "With the appearance of the republican structures, we will be closely engaged in coordinating their activities in the united economic and social area," stated the chairman of the central committee of the USSR Union of Defense Industry Workers, Sergey Shuklin. "In the future they will probably form a federation or confederation, and there will be no need for our activities."

Government Forms Media Freedom Inspectorate

PM2211160491 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 46, 17-24 Nov 91 p 2

[Interview with Mikhail Fedotov, deputy minister for the mass media, by Vladimir Shevelev; place and date not given: "A New Watchdog for the Press"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Journalists in Russia were alarmed by news of the government having formed on October 25 a state inspectorate to protect media freedom. MN's [MOSCOW NEWS] Vladimir Shevelev interviewed the deputy Minister of Russia for the Mass Media, Mikhail Fedotov, LLD.

Q: Why the need for this body all of a sudden?

A: Not "all of a sudden", The Russian presidential decree on measures to protect freedom of the press in early September directed that an inspectorate of Russia's Ministry for Mass Media be established to improve control over the observance of legislation on freedom of the press.

Q: Was this control inadequate?

A: Judge for yourself. The Russian Federation's Criminal Code was supplemented not long ago with a clause on punishing those who prevent journalists from fulfilling their professional duties (Clause 140). I have not heard lately of the clause having been invoked, even if it were violated on a number of instances. Even when my ministry referred such instances to the prosecutor's office no court action was taken on the plea because of the lack of suitable procedure or the shortage of lawyers well versed in the problems of the press. The Inspectorate will provide a mechanism which will make the legislation work.

Q: The Inspectorate's offices in the provinces all over Russia, in Moscow and St. Petersburg, the decree says, will be based on what remains of the USSR censorship agency Glavlit. Does it return us into the old times of fierce censorship?

A: The danger can't be ruled out. At its inception in the early 1920s, Glavit was a very modest institution. But soon it grew into a menacing glutton. It is for this reason that the Inspectorate's range of duties is clearly limited. It has been also stipulated that it is to guard the law, not an ideology.

Q: What are the body's main duties?

A: To see that the media do not call for a forcible destruction of the system or fan ethnic enmity. To protect the press against those who want to suppress information. To see to it that all publications provide output data and send sample copies to the correct addresses.

Q: What about keeping state secrets?

A: This is one of the duties too but the hitch here is that there's still no law on state secrets. What should be guarded is unknown. As for the lists of information not to be divulged, they are still confidential.

Q: I still can't shake off the feeling that the new structure harbours some danger. It is like a police attached to the ministry whose duty it is to keep tabs, ban and decide who's right and who's wrong.

A: The Inspectorate can neither ban nor punish. As in the past it is for the court of law to decide on who's wrong and who's right. The Inspectorate's main duty is to see that the law is obeyed. We hope that journalists will have neither a guard nor supervisor but a helping friend, albeit a strict friend.

Gaydar Briefs Journalists on Economic Decrees

PM2511144591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Nov 91 Union Edition pp 1, 2

[M. Berger report: "What the New Cabinet Is Preparing for Us. Russian Deputy Premier Speaks of the Government's Plans"]

[Text] Deputy Premier Yegor Gaydar had a meeting with journalists, the first since his appointment to this post, in Staraya Ploshchad, where the Russian Cabinet is now located. Thus, the vow of silence, which had been secretly taken by the new government and had been in existence for two weeks, was lifted and we gained an opportunity to learn at first hand some details of the proposed actions and decisions, as well as an explanation of what has already been done.

Under conditions when the rate of inflation in the wholesale sector has reached 15 percent a month, when inflationary problems are slowing down the supply of agricultural produce to the cities, when currency reserves are lacking and the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity is virtually insolvent, and when the population's nominal monetary income has gotten out of control, Gaydar said, the government has very little opportunity for maneuver. Letting prices and wages go free while simultaneously implementing a number of tough financial measures, the government makes it its aim to outstrip the process and get it under control.

Hypothetically, it is possible to single out three main blocks of questions now being tackled by the cabinet. The first is the creation of market institutions and conditions for shaping market relations. This primarily includes decrees on the liberalization of foreign economic activity, the decree being prepared on the liberalization of prices, and several decisions on privatization. The second block is social protection: Support for those who, for objective reasons, cannot protect themselves, and a new policy in the sphere of incomes. The third block is minimum measures to ensure Russia's economic sovereignty: The licensing of exports of oil, other energy carriers, and certain types of raw materials.

The Ministry of the Economy is engaged on technical preparations for the liberalization of prices, although the chief principle, as Gaydar explained, will be the fixing of prices for a commodity by those who produce and sell it. The prospect of a monopoly economy is rather terrible, but the prospect could prove still more terrible, in the opinion of Gaydar's team, if we continue trying to hold prices. There might not be any goods at all, and there is no force today that could halt the growth in prices. It will not be possible to curb inflation (it is very easy to believe this promise), but after the first and toughest three or four months, Gaydar believes, there will be a certain easing, as the shock of inflation in itself, provided certain conditions are observed, is of a quenching nature.

The narrow range of measures that are possible under these conditions includes the freeing of wages and the maintenance of control over a narrow group of goods which will also undoubtedly become more expensive, but within set limits. What kind of goods, and what are the proposed limits? The vice premier named oil, gas, coal, schists, precious metals, and the rates for railroad transport operations and basic types of communications services. The new guide price for oil is 350 rubles a tonne. Among consumer goods, the following will be controlled: certain kinds of bread, milk, nonfat kefir and cottage cheese, vegetable oil, salt, vodka, municipal services, and maybe sugar. The specific new prices are not yet known (or the deputy premier does not want to name them yet), but the cost of these commodities will most likely triple.

Serious steps should be expected in the sphere of tax policy. Gaydar did not speak about specific kinds and rates of taxes either, although he revealed some guidelines which make it possible to judge the government's tax appetites. Whereas in previous years taxes made up approximately 50 percent of GNP, this year their share has fallen to 20-22 percent of GNP. It is proposed to raise the tax base to 40-42 percent.

The Russian Government is conducting a tough revision of defense spending, above all in the sphere of arms purchases.

So the new Russian Government is continuing to display readiness to act decisively, evidently tending toward a single big "shock," though not a protracted one. It is undoubtedly a risky matter, but it is, nonetheless, action rather than talk of action.

Of course, the number of questions and anxieties has not diminished with the renewal of the cabinet and the change in its location. How will relations be built with other republics, how will industry, which has not yet been privatized, function, and will not everything come to a halt one fine day? The situation is such that you are amazed not because something disappears but beause there still is something and it functions somehow. What makes power stations work, and what makes drivers drive buses? Will the treatment not prove too radical for the patient, who, though lying down, is still alive?

Gaydar promised a decree on organizing the work of industry under modern conditions, which will define the status of enterprise directors and a number of other measures to keep the state sector of the economy manageable. "Decree" measures will hardly prove adequate for this, but the vice premier probably cannot promise more at present. Barter will predominate in interrepublic relations, particularly in respect of products whose world prices differ significantly from internal prices: oil in one direction, sugar in the other; gas in one direction, oilseed meal or cotton in the other. It is a primitive trading method, but we used it for many years in relations with "brothers in the camp" or in trade with India, if you like this comparison better. The government, Gaydar promised, will seek to narrow the barter commodity exchange, but it cannot yet be dispensed with. We evidently still have to grow and develop some more in order to establish more sophisticated relations.

On the whole, the impression is being created that Russia might tend toward implementing a selfish economic policy, in other words a policy based primarily on its own interests. The arguments for such an approach are provided by the fact that the prospect of reaching agreement on concerted (and, thus, in some respects restrictive) actions will be very difficult. It will be still more difficult to abide by the accords, particularly as all the republics, having proclaimed sovereignty, have formulated their economic interests and displayed readiness to uphold them. In this sense Russia has ended up, as it were, without its own clearly formulated economic interests and the mechanisms for defending them. Consequently, this gap should be bridged without, of course, shutting off opportunities for developing mutually advantageous cooperation. Such a policy, if it really is to be implemented, could come up against a strong counter reaction—which will intensify the economic crisis further still, although it cannot be ruled out that such a trend, given a certain development of events, will gain the upper hand. All these cannot be called factors promoting the implementation of reform.

There are also dangers of a different kind. People have already managed to say and write quite a lot about them. If wages are set free, state enterprises might channel all income into consumption. If restrictions on exports and barter are lifted and the ruble has one foot in the grave and might be pensioned off altogether, will people not start exporting all output abroad, albeit only for pennies—but real ones, with which it is possible to buy something? Acknowledging the validity of such fears, Gaydar remarked that, if a state enterprise squanders all its money and does not receive new money from the state, then it will very soon cease the practice of converting all income into wages. The chief thing is that there should be sufficient toughness not to issue unearned money. As for foreign economic freedoms, if state control is maintained over exports of oil and the main types of raw materials, then there is no great danger in selling output cheaply. It is not that easy to sell bad machines or boots on the world market, even for a song.

Burbulis Outlines Priorities of New Government

OW2211223491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2059 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decision to head the government of Russia was inevitable, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] First Deputy Prime Minister Gennadiy Burbulis said in Moscow on Friday [22 November]. He was speaking at a conference on government policies in the field of culture. Burbulis said that Yeltsin agreed to lead the Cabinet of Ministers at a time when everybody else refused to take the job.

Russia's first deputy prime minister said that in his view the current Russian Government had more intellectuals than any other previous administration.

About the economic policies of the new cabinet Burbulis said there were several matters where one had to act without the time to think. He said not a single problem could be settled in the context of the Soviet economy, which he described as "monopolized, militarized, cost-ineffective and corrupt." Reforms require the minimum liberalization of relations in the economy at all levels as soon as possible. A change of the system of property should be central to it. Our program is a program for transition to private property, which will require certain stages, pauses and forms," [no opening quotation marks as received] Burbulis said.

Burbulis said that in the current situation the government had to keep going three processes at a time, such as the liberalization of prices, prompt privatisation, in the first place in the field of distribution, and wherever possible, in production, as well as fundamentally new taxation—a mandatory condition of survival after prices have been liberalized.

Russia's first deputy premier said that no country in the world had ever launched such reforms without firm international support. "In our case we often hear only fine pronouncements; besides, these intentions are linked to ever new humiliating preconditions every day." About President Yeltsin's continuing visit to Germany, Burbulis said that for the first time Yeltsin was being received abroad as the head of a full-fledged state. Burbulis said that in January President Yeltsin would visit France in the same capacity.

Khasbulatov Interviewed on Mixed Economy

AU2511104691 Vienna PROFIL in German 25 Nov 91 p 61

[Interview with Supreme Soviet President Ruslan Khasbulatov by Michael Siegert in Klagenfurt; date not given: "Six Months Grace"]

[Text] [Siegert] President Yeltsin now plans to deregulate prices, but if this is done before privatization, the Soviet monopolist companies will simply increase prices and no significant amount of goods will reach the market.

[Khasbulatov] Yes, of course. For this reason privatization and the liberalization of prices must be carried out at the same time. Otherwise society would be plundered and split.

[Siegert] When will the peasants be given land?

[Khasbulatov] We have already created the necessary conditions, but there is great resistance.

[Siegert] On the part of the kolkhozes?

[Khasbulatov] Yes, and on the part of the local authorities, of chairmen and directors. They do not know what a market is. They were always told that this is capitalism.

[Siegert] You advocate a mixed economy. Gorbachev also made the mistake that he always concluded deals with the conservatives.

[Khasbulatov] He never introduced the mixed economy. First he spoke of the socialist market, then of the regulated market. We finally introduced the mixed form of ownership.

[Siegert] In the Soviet reality, this means a compromise with the nomenkcature.

[Khasbulatov] Why should this be a compromise? In Austria you have state-owned enterprises as well, and consequently a mixed economy.

[Siegert] But those enterprises are run commercially.

[Khasbulatov] We want to do that as well.

[Siegert] How much time do you still have?

[Khasbulatov] Not very much. I believe three to six months. At the bottom of our hearts, we believe that we will master our difficulties. Such a big country must eventually overcome the crisis.

Rutskoy Notes Need for Transitional Period

LD2611091691 Moscow TASS in English 0852 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—"Democracy in our country cannot take shape instantly. A transitional period is needed for that," Russia's Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy told SELSKAYA ZHIZN (RURAL LIFE) in an interview published today.

Rutskoy is convinced that the artificial division into "communists" and "anticommunists," "democrats" and "patriots" will not lead to anything good.

According to the Russian vice president, society has lost respect for the human being. Now that the Soviet Communist Party structures are being eliminated and the managerial staff reduced, some people, who have been honestly working for years, have been simply thrown out into the street as redundants.

Rutskoy further stated that those responsible for firing these people also had influence under the old system. They, too, were Young Pioneers, members of the Young Communist League, and communists.

"There will be no democracy without respect for every person. There will only be totaliarianism again, this time under a signboard of democracy," the vice president of Russia emphasised.

Popov Seeks Presidential Representative Post

LD2211221391 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Nov 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The STUDINFORM agency has learned from informed sources that Popov has informed President Yeltsin that he wants to resign as the mayor of Moscow, asking Yeltsin to appoint him as the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president's authorized representative.

Poll Shows Yeltsin Retains 52 Percent Support

LD2211192591 Moscow TASS in English 1613 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 22 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has retained his popularity among Muscovites according to a recent TASS poll taken by the Moscow Sociological Agency. Over half of those polled—52 per cent—"trust or would sooner trust him than not," while 21 per cent of those polled "do not trust or would sooner not trust him at all." This reflects a drop in popularity of 10 per cent from October.

Those who "fully trust or would sooner than not trust" Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev have also decreased in number since October—from 26 per cent to 14 per cent. And the number of those who "do not or would sooner not trust him at all" rose from 42 per cent to 57 per cent.

Muscovites' hopes seem to be linked with the successful implementing of an agreement on a common economic space and Boris Yeltsin's course of economic reforms.

The agreement on a common economic space, which was signed today by ten republics of the former Soviet Union, "will help overcome this country's crisis" according to 55 per cent of those polled. Those who regard the plan with pessimism counted for 26 per cent. 19 per cent of Muscovites polled could not answer the question.

Only six per cent of Moscow's residents were "indifferent" to the programme on economic reform proffered recently by Yeltsin, while 59 per cent "expressed support in one form or another." 18 per cent reacted negatively to the president's plan and the remaining 17 per cent said neither "yes" nor "no".

Further on Yeltsin Survey

OW2511081191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0725 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Feature "Viewpoint"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] **Yeltsin's Power**

On November 9-19 the National Public Opinion Studies Center took a survey of 2,035 respondents in Ukraine, Belorussia, Lithuania, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The survey showed 41% of those questioned welcome concentration of power in the hands of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

1 in 4 disapproves that.
34% have no opinion.
Margin of error—3%.

Is Conflict Between Russia and Ukraine Possible?

In the same poll respondents were asked if a conflict between Russia and Ukraine may occur in the coming months.
37% do not think so.
36% admit such possibility, but rule out armed clashes.
4% predict the use of military force.
23% did not give a clear answer.

'Moscow Organization of Communists' Formed

PM2211144891 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Nov 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Princess E. Trubetskaya: Communism Will Conquer"]

[Excerpt] Moscow Communists held a conference 17 November at the "Seagull" ["Chayka"] Palace of Culture convened by the Communist Initiative Movement in the CPSU and participants in the standing assembly of Communists and united to form a human chain defending the V.I. Lenin Museum.

The conference was attended by 246 delegates representing the party groups of such Communist movements as the Communist Initiative Movement, the United Front of Working People, and "Yedinstvo" ["Unity"], along with Moscow and Moscow Oblast Communists' revived rayon organizations.

The conference organizer, Moscow Soviet People's Deputy Viktor Anpilov, editor of MOLNIYA, said in his opening address that rank and file Communists are voicing growing concern at the inactivity of the CPSU's official leaders who seem to have resigned themselves to the unconstitutional ban on the party. Rank and file Communists must create new organizational structures themselves, from below, as is now being done in Moscow. We have to go through the registration procedure again. A certain number of signatures must be collected for that.

The conference set up the Moscow Organization of Communists which will be an integral part of the Russian Communist Workers' Party. The revived party's draft statutes and programmatic theses were examined. The conference elected the Moscow Organization of Communists organizational bureau and elected delegates to the Communists' congress in Yekaterinburg. [passage omitted]

Communist Workers' Party Holds Congress

LD2411110591 Moscow TASS in English 0828 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] Yekaterinburg November 24 TASS—"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) ceased to be the party of the working class, and this was the cause of its crisis" is the opinion of the majority of delegates to a founding congress of [Russian] Communist Workers' Party (RCWP), which opened here on Saturday [23 November]. Nevertheless, speakers described as unlawful the suspension of the activities of the CPSU and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation.

The RCWP considers itself a successor to the ideas of communist orientation. Five hundred and twenty-five delegates representing 14 republics discussed the party's programme and rules. The congress is due to continue its work on Sunday [24 November].

Examines Draft Decrees

PM2611094991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 91 p 2

[Report by correspondent S. Ryabov: "New Party Created"]

[Text] Yekaterinburg—On 23 November the constituent congress of the Russian Communist Workers Party opened in Yekaterinburg.

On the first day the deputies examined the drafts for the statute of the Russian Communist Workers Party and its basic program provisions and adopted the congress statement "to the Communists of Russia."

The attitude of the local organs of power toward this event is highly symbolic. To the request from the oblast coordination committee for the preparation of the congress that premises be assigned to hold the forum, the deputies of the city soviet headed by chairman Yu. Samarin appealed to the city prosecutor for an explanation as to whether the positive solution of the question would contradict President B. Yeltsin's well known decree "on the activity of the CPSU and the Russian Communist Party." The prosecutor replied that these questions are not part of his official duties.

As a result the communist deputies agreed independently on the venue for their forum, renting the hall of sessions of the railroad workers' culture center.

Yesterday the congress' working day began by laying flowers at the monument to V.I. Lenin on the city's main square—1905 square. After the flowers had been laid there were heated debates in discussing the proposals and amendments to the draft statutes, and then the statutes' final version was approved. There were also discussions of the candidates and the election of the new party's central organs. With that the congress ended its work.

Plans To Prevent Yeltsin Reform

LD2511213191 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1806 GMT 25 Nov 91

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—Economic program-maximum of the Russian Communist Workers Party (RCWP) suggests resotration of public property and planned economy. Aleksey Sergeyev, Ph.D. (economics), one of the ideological leaders of the party and member of the RCWP Central Committee, told PF [POSTFACTUM] correspondent that the immediate economic program of the RCWP is aimed at prevention of Yeltsin's monetary reform with confiscation of money. Sergeyev believes that the burden of the reform will be placed on the working people, not on entrepreneurs, because the bulk of the latter's money has already been invested in valuables. According to Sergeyev, the other part of the immediate economic program suggests equal distribution of the difficulties of the economic crisis among the population. To achieve this goal the program proposes to establish a limit of private businesses' profit at 15 percent of the advanced capital and withdraw the rest of the profit to finance to blocked social programs. On November 23-24 Aleksey Sergey took part in the founding congress of the RCWP held in Yekaterinburg and organized by the local branch of the communist initiative movement. The congress endorsed the charter, basics of the program of the party, resolution on founding of the Communist International (Comintern) and elected the Central committee. According to the information of the mandate commission, among 830 delegates of the RCWP Congress there were 87 workers, 3 farmers, 197 engineers and technical staff, 28 military servicemen, 81 retired persons, 30 unemployed and 7 university students. 43 delegates were under 30 years old, 155 delegates were over 60 years. The largest group consisted of the delegates aged from 40 to 60—289 persons. Majority of the delegates have been CPSU members for over 20 years, 31 delegates have been members of the Communist Party for less than a year. The most representative delegations arrived from Moscow, St. Petersburg and Nizhny Novgorod. Representatives of brother parties and movements, such as Aleksey Prigarin (the Union of Communists), Vitaliy Kovel (the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks), Richard Kosolapov, professor of the Moscow State University (the Russian United Front of Working People), proposed to unite the efforts in the struggle against the ascending capitalism. On the initiative of Professor Kosolapov delegates of the congress approved the resolution providing for unification of all the communist parties into a united front of working people. One of the leaders of the RCWP, delegate of the Samara Branch, USSR People's Deputy Albert Makashov, told PF correspondent that the reason for founding the RCWP was the workers' need in their own fighting party able to protect their interests, instead of the party of businessmen headed by Gorbachev. In their program manifest featured in the workers newspaper MOLNIYA leaders of the RCWP pointed out that the CPSU is not a part of the working class any more, and this is the cause of its crisis. The charter of the RCWP established that not less than 50 per cent of members of the Party's leading bodies should be workers. The congress elected the Central committee of 45 workers and 40 white-collar delegates. According to the charter, any citizen over 16 years old recognizing the charter and the program of the Party and regularly paying membership fees can be member of the RCWP. According to the charter, staff officers of the Party cannot have remuneration higher than average salary of a qualified worker in the corresponding region. The congress was closed with chanting of the international. After the congress the Central Committee of the RCWP held a closed plenary meeting. The journalists were not allowed to stay at the meeting.

GLASNOST Cited on Political Processes

LD2411150591 Moscow TASS in English 1430 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—"What is an objective content of the political process that has been evolving in Russia after the August of 1991?" is the question that Sergey Kurginyan examines in an article headlined "What Lies Ahead?"

The article is published in the 47th issue in the sociopolitical weekly GLASNOST, published today.

"We are in for a new stage of the building of the state because the break up of the USSR is an accomplished fact while the wrecking of the Russian Federation was started and is being effected by means of the same methods but at a still quicker pace. It is symbolical that both processes originated from Nagorno-Karabakh," Kurginyan observes.

The analyst draws parallel between the unsuccessful efforts of the Union and Russian presidents to settle the Karabakh problem. The failure of the efforts undermines the prestige of the Russian leader.

Kurginyan perceives the main cause of present and future problems in the fact that when laying claim to a new policy course, the two presidents did not offer any "new ideology."

The analyst then tries to carry out a system analysis of the developments in Checheno and the actions of the Russian leadership.

"A state of emergency in Checheno was introduced under conditions of the impoverishment of the army who realised after the August coup that non-observance of orders is a valiant deed," Kurginyan writes.

Obedience to such an order is fraught with consequences similar to those of the case of Sergey Parfenov, a member of the OMON [special purpose militia detachment] personnel, who was arrested on Russia's territory by Lithuanians. The military have developed a "reflex of non-observance of orders and of penalty for obedience to orders," he maintains.

The power-political action had neither propagandistic nor informational support and there was no clear-cut "political formula that would provide reasons for carrying it out."

"From the strategic point of view, the main painful point of the goings-on is laid bare: an utter lack of the Russian leadership's integrated concept of Russia" and consequently the lack of social support for power, the analyst points out.

Kurginyan believes that the development of events may proceed according to the geopolitical concept espoused by Zbigniew Brzezinskiy—who earnestly recommends that the Russian leadership immediately turn Russia into a confederation—and simply break it up.

But such a plan would end in failure because the country's break up would be followed by the process of its reunification and integration of "the broken-up state and the people." This would not meet the interests of either Europe or the United States, Kurginyan concludes.

Economists on Yeltsin Economic Program

PM2211155691 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 45, 10-17 Nov 91 p 7

[Feature prepared by Andrey Borodenkov on discussion between economists Oleg Bogomolov, Yegor Gaydar, and Nikolay Shmelev: "From the Union Economic Mess to a Russian Market Economy"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] From the Union economic mess to a Russian market economy is the path proposed by Boris Yeltsin, but how thorny is the path? Economists Oleg Bogomolov, Yegor Gaydar, and Nikolay Shmelev discussed the issue in MN's [MOSCOW NEWS] office.

A solo voyage

Gaydar: Russia constitutes 70 percent of the country's economy. If stabilization of the economy is started (and pursued) in Russia, chances are the other areas will join in. At any rate, I can't imagine that it is possible at the moment to set up a body in Moscow that could unfreeze prices upon agreement with Republics, lay down a tough anti-inflation policy and assume responsibility for the closing of hundreds of factories in the Ukraine, Central Asia, and Kazakhstan.

Bogomolov: The latest statement in Tashkent by Kravchuk leaves no doubt: the Ukraine will not be part of the Union. But without the Ukraine it is very hard to imagine the economic landscape. Especially if the other Republics follow suit. I think, therefore, that Yavlinskiy's unification projects only complicate the situation. It wouldn't be so awful if there were no common market and no single currency. Then Russia wouldn't be against everyone of those who wish to join in. It is impossible to wait until everybody agrees.

From liberalization of prices to hyperinflation. And back

Gaydar: We now know that the sooner the prices are freed the less the inflationary impact will be.

Shmelev: They will be freed tomorrow, it has been said.

Gaydar: That would be madness without overhauling the system of taxes. I don't think Yeltsin meant really "tomorrow". He meant to say he has resolved to firmly go ahead with improving the state's finances and to balance the budget.

Bogomoleov: It is not clear what is going to happen with wages. Indexation of wages is going to be delayed, it seems. What about wage control? Yeltsin at first said there would be no such control. Then he corrected himself saying that wages should correspond to efficiency. A wage statement. If prices and wages be let free, a hyperinflation is inevitable. Fighting it would be much harder than allowing it.

Gaydar: I don't think inflation can go out of hand. There is a brake. First, the economy is in fact closed. Second, hard currency rates don't have much impact on prices inside the country. And then our system, overburdened by bureaucracy, will not permit the producers to quickly sign contracts for new prices. If prices are to increase, they'll double at most.

Shmelev: A couple of words in defence of monopolies. They are believed to immediately jack up prices given a free hand. Demand would not allow this to happen. That already happened during the NEP [New Economic Plan]: monopolies inflated prices, the market became overstocked—no one wished to buy. The monopolies had to back down.

Gaydar: Incidentally, this is yet another argument against those who insist on ending monopolies and carrying out privatization before freeing prices.

Bogomolov: Another danger lies in ruining production. If there is hyperinflation, there'll be no one wishing to invest funds. If wages are frozen, this will cut demand. That would also discourage increasing production. It is difficult to charter a middle course here. At any rate, the experience of Eastern Europe shows that liberalization of prices entails a big slump in production. Our productions has now dropped by a third.

New currency

Shmelyov: Half the cash is outside Russia. If Russia is late in printing new currency, the whole mass of roubles will be dumped on its markets. This would be another push towards hyperinflation. I can't accept the idea of the introduction of a new currency. It means war. And Russia is not an aggressor.

Bogomolov: The war won't be over that. It will be over snapping up more from transit, trade. A war with whom? With Kravchuk, who is going to rob his own people by bringing in a new Ukrainian currency? We were robbed by Pavlov of 300 billion roubles when he doubled prices. But here we are.

Gaydar: By introducing a new currency in Russia it may stop the flood of money from outside. But what's to be done about the money on bank accounts of enterprises outside Russia? These sums are much larger.

Privatization in all of Russia

Bogomolov: Another obscure issue. The way privatization is going is robbery. The former party elite are grabbing more than they did at the height of the Brezhnev era. Ordinary people simply must get some benefits today. Hyperinflation can be ended if shelves get filled. If some benefits are handed out free it will reduce the social tension. One can't take away from people all the time. When there are many millionaires, instead of one or two shown on TV as great rarities, and most people live below the poverty level, I'm not sure what disaster it may provoke.

Shmelyov: This country has distributed good things for 70 years and will continue to do so. I'm more inclined to believe those who procure and buy instead of waiting for handouts. Some of such people are truly half-bandits. But we can't do without them. Australia depended on convicts. I hate criminals as much as you do, but can we do anything about it?

Gaydar: Sadly, privatization is not scientific. It relies on the experiences of some countries which are groping in the dark, depending on political expediency and common sense. A system should be therefore invented here to facilitate privatization. Without such a system of distribution, sale, or whatever, it would take us indefinitely long.

God save us from a Russian riot

Shmelyov: For most people the reform will prove a severe blow. I'm worried that there's still no safety net. Listening to Yeltsin, many people only heard talking about soup kitchens and doss-houses. I therefore call upon the authorities to use everything—international aid, contingency supplies so as to keep the market supplied to some extent during the next several months. I know, half of it would be stolen but the remaining half would make it possible for us to survive the shock. Second, entrepreneurs should be immediately issued licences instead of permissions, as they are today. I am positive that even those who can't afford to buy a store or a barber's shop would start businesses in their homes or tool sheds. This would serve as a safety net, too.

Bogomolov: If price tags are put on all Russia's property—factories, land, forests, the sum would exceed the effective demand. If people are allowed to buy land, workshops, apartments, the danger of a riot may no longer be there. Most importantly, we'd have immediately substantial class of property owners. People can no longer be promised a better future at the cost of tightening belts. They must believe that this reform is to benefit them.

Shmelyov: Till now they have believed Yeltsin. It wouldn't be bad if now they started to believe in themselves.

Independent Paper for Servicemen Registered

PM2511135191 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 46, 17 Nov 91 p 2

[Unattributed report from the "Fax-Fact" roundup]

[Text] VOYSKOVOY KRUG, an all-Russian independent daily newspaper for servicemen, has been registered at the Russian Federation Ministry of Information. This is the first publication in the country and in Russia that is not subordinate to ministers, commanders in chief, or commanding officers.

International Affairs

Foreign Minister Holds Talks With James Baker

LD2611102791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0740 GMT 26 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksey Berezhkov and Aleksandr Korovlev]

[Text] Washington, 26 Nov (TASS)—Andrey Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic who is here on a visit, met U.S. Secretary of State James Baker yesterday. During the conversation, which lasted almost two hours, the sides discussed a wide range of issues connected with Russian-American relations and prospects for their development.

The Russian minister noted in a conversation with TASS correspondents that among the main topics raised at the meeting were military-political problems, more specifically, issues regarding the control of nuclear weapons. We confirmed our policy that the preservation of sole control over them is essential. The second point was the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and missile technology both within the space of the Union and outside it. The complete unity of views on this issue was noted, with the exclusion of a number of technical details on which we and the Union bodies will need to do a little more work. The third aspect was the export of arms, a sphere transferring to Russian responsibilty. We spoke about the fact that the observance of commercial interests should not lead to political destabilization. This is a sphere in which we may earn hard currency quickly and effectively. For this reason, strict political control over the export of weapons from Russia and those republics that are part of the Union needs to be guaranteed. This is also a sphere in which we and the Americans understand the necessity to act jointly and to coordinate our efforts so that the export of weapons does not lead to their accumulation, especially in unstable regions.

We also discussed our reforms. We stressed the special nature of the moment. I think there was a great deal of understanding on the part of the secretary of state regarding the fact that for the first time, Russia has a truly popularly elected government seeking reform without any ideological restraining circumstances. It is also important that the U.S. side is aware of the fact that these reforms have been begun, of necessity, at a very dramatic moment. Their moral, political, and material support is needed. Of course, we have to understand that the resources here are limited, as the United States is experiencing an economic recession. To the extent possible, I think that such help will be given, especially in the form of technical assistance; that is, in working on reforms and creating mechanisms for their implementation. In the very near future they will be sending us whole teams of specialists to work in various areas that we regard as top priority. The Americans understand that we need to be helped, to be put right, and to be prompted in some areas. Of course, we will do things in our own way, transferring things to our own soil.

The matter of urgent additional humanitarian aid to Russia in the form of food and medicines will be examined. We asked for increasing food credits to be examined, and it will be studied. The problem of distributing aid was also raised. An agreement was reached to work together toward this and to create conditions to enable U.S. experts to carry out some degree of supervisory functions.

The possibility of solutions of a strategic-political nature also will be studied, for example, removing the Russian Federation from the so-called list of communist countries, which envisages various kinds of economic and technological restrictions. We have raised this matter. I think the Americans did understand that the Russian Federation, which has taken the path of "decommunization" and setting up a law-governed state, is indeed no longer a communist country. This problem evidently requires some analysis, as we still retain the inertia of producing surplus weapons that go beyond the bounds of ensuring strategic stability. There is criticism on this count in our country too, so we took the criticism here calmly. We will study the matter of how to react to this with our military department because there is probably a great deal here that is sensible.

We raised the matter of cooperation on conversion. I think that further efforts will be made in this area, although there are no simplified approaches here.

It seems to me that the main thing we have accomplished is an understanding that the Russian leadership, the new government, has really seriously taken hold of matters under very difficult conditions, and that the U.S. Administration will provide support in this undertaking. The Americans regard the package of Russian reforms positively. In my view, they are convinced that this is a really serious program and that, perhaps for the first time, there is a real chance for putting it into practice.

Government Not To Aid Castro Administration

LD2311110891 Moscow TASS in English 0953 GMT 23 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Alexey Likurtsev]

[Text] Mexico November 23 TASS—"The Russian Government does not intend under any circumstances to continue to provide aid to the Fidel Castro administration, but relations between Russia and Cuba will be maintained and built in line with economic criteria," Aleksey Surkov, deputy chairman of the Russian Parliamentary Committee for International Affairs, said in an interview with the NOTIMEX news agency on Friday [22 November].

He said "Russian parliamentarians will soon define changes in the scope, forms and directions" in economic relations with Havana.

Surkov is attending a conference on Cuba's transition to democracy, which is being held by the Cuban-American Foundation, an anti-Castro organisation, in Miami. Attending are also representatives of parliamentary and academic communities from east European countries and the United States.

In discussing Soviet-Cuban relations, speakers pointed out at the conference that the nature of ties between the two countries is defined by a great measure of their economies' interdependence.

Fedorov Says Honecker Home 'Within a Week'

AU2511093291 Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 21 Nov 91 p 3

[Interview with Justice Minister Nikolay Fedorov by Malte Zeeck in Bonn; date not given: "Honecker May Be Back in Germany Within a Week"]

[Text] [Zeeck] The Yeltsin government has decided to expel Honecker. When will he return to Germany?

[Fedorov] If nothing unexpected happens—and after all, this is not impossible in politics—I will sign certain documents after my return to Moscow. Honecker may then be back in Germany within a week.

[Zeeck] What is the mood in Russia, in your view, and who makes decisions in the Soviet Union—the central state or the individual republics?

[Fedorov] I would say that the mood is militant. We have decided in favor of quite radical measures because we do not have time to hold talks. There is not even time for shock therapies. In everything we do, we rely on a state based on the rule of law.

Actually, one would have to discuss these questions very extensively. In short: from the legal point of view, neither the Soviet Union nor the Soviet Constitution exist. The real power rests with the republics, and the Soviet Union keeps pretending that it still has some. The USSR president was elected by the Congress of People's Deputies. This organ or this institution that held the elections ceased to exist in September. It was dissolved. In line with the Union law, the president can be dismissed or taken to task by this institution—which no longer exists. We, as the representatives of the republics, proceed from the premise that the dissolution of the Congress of People's Deputies has resulted in the fact that the president does not exist any longer, either. I do understand that the sympathetic feelings the Germans have for Gorbachev may make them blind. Therefore, they probably continue to accept him as president, even if he does not exist as such anymore.

[Zeeck] German-Russian relations have a long tradition. So it is very important for Germany to have close contacts with Boris Yeltsin's government.

[Fedorov] Yes, this is quite right, and it is also important.

[Zeeck] Once again back to Mr. Honecker: Are you absolutely sure that he will arrive here in a few days?

[Fedorov] I will try to fulfill the impatient journalists' dream as quickly as possible. I can understand that they want to put Honecker on trial. Even before the Cabinet decision by Yeltsin's government to expel Honecker, the question of a potential right to asylum on Honecker's part was examined. In the course of this examination, it was found that there are no reasons for granting asylum because he is not persecuted for political, but for penal reasons. At the moment, my employees are working on a formal response to the FRG Government's request for extradition. At the same time, the Russian Interior Ministry is preparing this extradition.

[Zeeck] However, does not the central state make the final decision on extradition or asylum?

[Fedorov] The Soviet Union is currently in the situation that as long as Mr. Honecker stays on the territory of the Russian Federation, only the laws of the Russian Federation are applicable. I can also say that the Russian Government would never make a decision whose implementation depended on what Mr. Gorbachev wants.

Honecker Said 'Almost Immaterial'

PM2511164791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Nov 91 Union Edition p 7

[Correspondent Ye. Bovkun report: "Second Discovery of Russia. B. Yeltsin's Visit to the FRG Successful"]

[Text] Bonn—With Boris Yeltsin's arrival in Bonn the Germans have rediscovered Russia.

The vast country with its age-old traditions was just a pale shadow of the Union for them over the last few decades. A yawning gap, as it were, developed in the history of Russo-German relations after they became German-Soviet relations. For all intents and purposes, relations resumed only a year ago when I. Silayev visited the FRG at the invitation of Spaeth, then prime minister of Baden-Wuerttemberg, and met with President von Weizsaecker. Genscher then had meetings with Yeltsin in Moscow this fall, followed by two meetings with his Russian counterpart, Kozyrev. That was all that had preceded the Russian president's first official visit to Germany.

The unusual, even legally somewhat unnatural situation (Russia has still not become a subject of international law, not having obtained international recognition as an autonomous, independent state despite declaring sovereignty) did not affect the nature of the visit: Yeltsin was greeted as a lofty state guest with all proper honors. A Bundeswehr battalion formed on the airfield and the band played a Prussian march followed by Glinka's "Glory"—Russia's new national anthem, the music for which arrived here just four days ago. There was no red flag, no hammer and sickle on the flagpoles in front of the federal chancellery. Instead there were the Russian and German tricolors.

It was only the supply of information that was slightly unreliable at first. Journalists at the press center waited a long time for the texts of the preliminary brief speeches that Yeltsin and Kohl exchanged right off. The Soviet Embassy was reminiscent of the period of stagnation on the day before the "tokens" ["puly"] (special passes to the scheduled functions) would be handed out. Most "tokens" are always earmarked for television journalists and photographers; there is nothing for their literary colleagues to do at the talks apart from kick their heels or click the shutter of their own camera somewhere amid the reception mob. Some of the writing fraternity grabbed "tokens" indiscriminately, like vodka coupons. Our old habits are so strong. The result was that some people did not get the requisite passes.

The visit glossed over this unpleasant impression. It proceeded in a businesslike manner with almost no deviations from schedule. The composition of the delegation indicated the businesslike intentions: It contained many experts, people tackling specific problems, people with intelligent, keen eyes and ordinary faces: They smiled and spoke German and English. Normal people. It is nice to point that out, particularly if you remember some previous "summit-level" visits. What about Yanayev's visit last spring, when he came to the FRG on vacation with a large retinue?

Many of my German colleagues were worried by the following question: Would Yeltsin go home empty-handed? The first day's results allow us to hope that he will not. In the evening during a dinner in the guest's honor at the Schaumburg Palace I managed to exchange a few sentences with the president (we talked about humanitarian aid). Boris Nikolayevich gave the impression of a calm, satisfied man, even though he had been noticeably jumpy in the morning. Summing up the interim results following the signing of the joint statement, in his press statement he pointed out the frank, constructive nature of the conversations with the chancellor. They had agreed on the need to formulate agreements on various aspects of bilateral relations with "tremendous development potential." Yeltsin also spoke briefly about the concrete accords at the Schaumburg after thanking the chancellor for his moral support during the putsch.

An unequivocally positive assessment of the results of the preliminary conversations was voiced in the corridors of the palace where Adenauer once held receptions and where three chancellors now stood together (the incumbent, Kohl, and his predecessors, Schmidt and Brandt—which has not happened before, apparently).

The head of the Bonn cabinet stressed that Germany intends to expand its exchanges and cooperation with Russia in many spheres, including partnership between cities and youth exchanges. They are prepared to help us create a rule-of-law state and establish effective organs of government and independent legal procedures and also to pass on experience of developing federalism, which is the foundation of democratic revival.

The joint statement that will be replaced, according to Yeltsin, at a later date by an international legal agreement coordinates the main questions of cooperation: consultations between foreign ministers, the formation of a common organ to strengthen economic contacts, and the creation of various missions. The first one will open at the end of the year in St. Petersburg. It was agreed that works of art illegally removed from Russia and Germany during and after the war will be returned to their original owners.

President Yeltsin is convinced that the signed documents will start a new historical phase in relations between the new Russia and the new Germany. Chancellor Kohl believes that once the foundations of this cooperation are laid, a new Europe can be built on it. He is grateful to his guest for supporting the European Community's peace initiatives on Russia's behalf.

There is also the prospect of resolving the two most difficult issues. Evidently in view of Russia's internal political difficulties, the federal government has given up the idea of trying to push the restoration of an autonomous republic for the Volga Germans, allowing events to develop more naturally. An FRG delegation will shortly set off for Moscow to continue the talks and the quest for mutually acceptable solutions.

People in Bonn reacted understandingly to Yeltsin's position on Honecker's extradition. People here do not want the former GDR ruler to become a bone of contention between the Russian president and Gorbachev. The Honecker case must not complicate bilateral relations, FRG Justice Minister Kinkel said.

At the same time Gorbachev's explanations as to why he refuses to deport his former ally from the country are seen in Bonn as a "strange interpretation of justice." People here think that morals must not be above the law, especially since there is no intention of trying Honecker for his political acts, but for his breach of legal norms.

Yeltsin did not bring with him to Germany a document concerning Honecker's extradition, as many people would have liked, but this did not overshadow the visit and had no effect on the talks. It is almost immaterial in view of the great tasks now facing Russia and Germany.

German Press Treatment of Yeltsin Talks Viewed

PM2511163191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 91 p 5

[Correspondent Ye. Grigoryev report: "Laying the Foundation: B.N. Yeltsin's Visit to the FRG"]

[Text] Bonn, 22 Nov—After meetings with FRG President von Weizsaecker and other state figures, addressing members of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee, and visiting city hall, B.N. Yeltsin traveled to Cologne and Stuttgart today as part of his official visit.

The white, blue, and red Russian flag has been taken down from the tall flagpole in front of the Federal Chancellor's residence on Adenauerplatz: The main political and negotiating part of the visit is over.

The results of this stage are now being examined in Bonn's political and parliamentary circles and in the press. The general conclusion is that the meetings and talks held enabled the foundations of direct relations between the new Russia and the new united Germany to be laid. This emerges clearly from the joint statement of the president and the chancellor and their speeches during the visit.

"The new Germany and the new Russia must establish special relations with one another. The Federal Government is receptive to that wish. In our country the feeling of solidarity in the 'European home' is more keenly developed than in the West of the continent or across the Atlantic," an editorial in the GENERAL-ANZEIGER notes. "This is due to our location as near-neighbors of the Soviet Union and the former Warsaw Pact states, the desire for a rapid and orderly withdrawal of Soviet troops from the new Federal laender, the importance of balanced disarmament, and the recognition of an obligation to give this region as much support as possible during the switch from the command economy to the market economy. In the face of the Soviet Union's disintegration, the Federal Government promised Yeltsin close cooperation with Russia."

In the atmosphere that actually exists this is logical, but even if the political and legal foundations of Russo-German relations are laid successfully, the German interlocutors noted, the road will not be easy or smooth. It is still necessary to implement the accords announced by the Russian president on the preparation and conclusion of an all-embracing treaty between Russia and Germany as well as a whole "package of agreements" on bilateral ties. It is worth noting the sides' confirmation in the joint statement of the absence of reciprocal territorial claims. This is an essential guarantee for the future for the inhabitants of Kaliningrad Oblast. In the present situation Kohl's stated readiness to join with other Western countries in giving food aid for the difficult winter as well as consultations and other specific measures in the transition to the market economy is extraordinarily important to us.

There are two more questions accompanying this visit. They concern the recreation of the Republic of the Volga Germans and the deportation to Germany of E. Honecker. Both topics are relevant in their own way. For the FRG the question of the "Russian Germans" means not just removing a barbarous injustice of Stalin's times but also giving these Soviet citizens satisfactory living conditions so that they do not swamp Germany, which is already overloaded with migrants and emigres, with an even greater wave of people. As for Honecker, the observance of the law of a rule-of-law state is important to the Germans. Nevertheless, it seems that the German side and the press are taking advantage of the situation in giving these themes undue importance, and not only in comparison with the importance of laying the foundation of Russo-German relations.

Germany's Kohl 'Ready To Help' Russian Economy

PM2511160991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Nov 91 p 5

[IAN correspondent Yu. Cherbakov "for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA": "Well-Considered Dialogue: B.N. Yeltsin's Visit to FRG Continues"]

[Text] Berlin—As expected, main attention at the Russian president's meetings with prominent FRG politicians and representatives of business circles has been paid to the state of affairs in the Russian economy, its plans for switching to the market, and the role which the German Government and private business could perform here. The stances adopted on this question are varied. The statement by Heinrich Weiss, president of the German Industrial Federation, who urged his colleagues to make German investments in our economy directly dependent upon how firmly and consistently the switch to the market is implemented, gave a certain dissonance to the background of the official ceremonies of the first day of the visit. In his opinion, it is essential to relax prices even more radically and also make the question of ownership absolutely clear.

The FRG Government, to use Chancellor Kohl's expression, is ready to help Russia build its future market with "advice and action." It is even intended to set up very soon a kind of permanent joint working body comprising representatives of government and business from both sides. There is no doubt that organizational and technical help in creating essential market structures in Russia is vital and that it is scarcely possible without the involvement of experienced specialists from Germany. At the same time time one would hope that this body will avoid in its work the mistakes of the USSR-FRG Commission on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, which in its many years of existence simply failed to break free of bureaucratic fetters.

The impression was that the question of the credits which Germany could give Russia was not specially raised during the conversation between the two heads of state. The federal chancellor hinted that the FRG is not ready to do this on its own. To all appearances, financial transfusions into the Russian economy or any other kind of large-scale aid are only possible as part of coordinated action by the EEC, the United States, and Japan, and food aid, which will be sent to Russia in the very near future to ease the approaching winter crisis and remove the possibility of its unpredictable political consequences will be the first such action.

In the political sphere the German Government and its foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, are, for the time being, still attaching great significance to cooperation with our central government. In one interview published in Germany during Boris Yeltsin's visit Genscher stressed, in particular, that there are questions on which the new republics of the former Soviet Union should act with a unified political line, and this line should be presented by the foreign minister of the central government. Disarmament is, without any doubt, one such question. The world could soon witness major new steps in this sphere, particularly in the sphere of the reduction and even complete destruction of short-range nuclear missiles and atomic artillery. These two kinds of arms pose, in the German Government's opinion, a great threat today, particularly in view of the internal instability on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

Finally, the revival of the Republic of the Volga Germans seems already to be decided. Boris Yeltsin informed his partners at the talks that it will be restored as far as possible within its old boundaries rather than on the territory of the former Kapustin Yar test range, as reported in the press. Next week the FRG Government will be sending an official delegation to discuss specific questions bound up with the revival of the actual German republic and the help which the FRG could provide here.

Further Reaction to Yeltsin's Germany Visit

PM2511160691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Nov 91 Union Edition p 3

[Correspondent Ye. Bovkun report under the general heading: "B. Yeltsin: Visit Surpassed All Expectations"]

[Text] In Bonn particular attention was focused on economic topics, which predominated in B.N. Yeltsin's talks with FRG representatives.

B. Engholm, chairman of the Social Democratic party of Germany, stressed the willingness of the FRG business world to help our country not only with short- and medium-term measures to boost the economy, but also with long-term projects.

Expressing the conviction that Russia is destined to play a key role in the renewal and self-determination of the former Soviet republics, FRG President von Weizsaecker wished his Russian colleague success in continuing the major transformations he has begun. By virtue of the magnitude of the tasks facing the peoples of Russia and the entire Union, he believes, aid to our country in building a market economy should be coordinated by international institutes.

B.N. Yeltsin's speech at the Cologne Chamber of Trade and Industry, where he addressed major representatives of the German business world, made a favorable impression. It prompted a wide response in the press. The industrialists heard what, in fact, they had long been wanting to hear: The Russian leadership is prepared to guarantee German firms not only investment protection and ruble accounts in banks not affected by inflation, but also the transfer abroad of profit in hard currency and protection against expropriation. German firms were promised special terms—in effect, most favored nation status.

We have seen for ourselves, E. Reuter, chairman of the board of the motor vehicle concern Daimler-Benz, said, commenting on the Cologne meeting, that in Russia there are responsible and competent politicians with whom we can do business.

O. Lambsdorff, chairman of the Free Democratic Party of Germany, who is regarded here as a major expert in the sphere of finance, offered B.N. Yeltsin assistance in setting up a central bank and credit institutions guided by Germany's experience.

The talks with representatives of the FRG business world convinced me that the FRG business world is prepared to give Russia real and constructive assistance in the following: building the foundations of a reliable banking system, creating a credit fund for financial support for the projects of the Russian Mittelstand (medium-sized firms), stabilizing currency, establishing permanent working links between charitable organizations, and restructuring industry in 50 major cities of Russia whose enterprises formerly worked mainly to meet defense needs.

Quite good prospects are also opening up in scientific cooperation. Humanitarian aid from the FRG will not stop. The Russian president, one influential government official told me, is the best recipient for such aid.

"Russia is recognized," the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE comments. "Germany recognizes Russia's autonomy. Boris Yeltsin will therefore not go home empty-handed. He has found in Germany a partner who will support his reforms with all its might."

Sakhalin's Fedorov Interviewed on Kurils Issue

OW2211140891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1135 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Interview with Valentin Fedorov, governor of the Sakhalin Administration, by INTERFAX correspondent Marina Chernukha; place and date not given; from the "National and Society" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The possibility of passing four Kuril islands to Japan is perhaps one of the most heatedly debated issues in the Russian parliament. The position of the Russian Federation's Foreign Ministry has been unambiguously set forth by its leader Andrey Kozyrev. Chief of the Sakhalin Administration, Russia's MP Valentin Fedorov looks at the problem from a different angle. Although some of his arguments seem disputable, his position deserves attention. Our correspondent Marina Chernukha talks with Valentin Fyodorov.

Corr. [Correspondent Chernukha]: There is a problem, besides that of the Kuril Islands, that is being discussed these days—the formation of a Far Eastern republic. What would you say about this idea?

Valentin Fedorov [V.F.]: It has a precedent. Back in 1920 Lenin set up a Far Eastern republic which existed for two years as a buffer zone between Russia and Japan. The idea has not died since then. Generally speaking, I'm against it, as it could deliver a blow on Russia. I still have many doubts about the expediency of creating such a republic. But there are circumstances which make us look at it as a way of saving Russia.

Corr.: What do you mean?

V.F.: According to my sources, Russia's Foreign Ministry is ready to pass the Kurils to Japan. To listen to them, loans have nothing to do with this act. They simply want to give the island to Japan and then ask for loans. I think such a move would inflict direct economic damage on our country.

Corr: Many believe that loans would give a strong impetus to the Far Eastern economy.

V.F.: Now look. In the Far East we catch 1.5 million tonnes of fish, which brings us 7 billion roubles and more than a billion dollars, annually. Even if Japan gives us loans we'll have to spend billions next year to buy the Kuril fish. I hear Japan is planning to extend the USSR a loan worth 2.5 billion dollars. But a larger part of it—about 2 billion dollars—has been reserved for the Japanese businessmen as a guarantee against losses, not for us. We behave like a peasant who, instead of making hay in the summer time, sells his cow for a bag of money. How will he feed the children in the winter? Therefore, we are looking for different ways of saving this Russian territory. The establishment of a Far Eastern republic is one of them. If Moscow cannot protect Russia, then the Far Eastern republic will save Moscow from capitulation.

Corr.: Does this mean that if the Kurils stay with Russia the quesiton of the Far Eastern republic will not be raised?

V.F.: Exactly, if, of course, no other problems arise. I foresee a lot of tremors shattering Russia during the next couple of years.

Corr.: What geographical borders will the Far Eastern republic have?

V.F.: Now there is an association of seven regions. Their number will increase. Yakutia would like to join in, too.

Corr.: You spoke about tremors that will shatter Russia during the next couple of years. What did you mean?

V.F.: Look at what is happening in Moscow. One kilo of sausages costs 160 roubles even before price release. Soon prices will rise even higher. Who would be able to buy them?

Corr.: Do you think there will be hunger riots?

V.F.: Yes, I do. Can economy be run that way? To release prices in a monopoly system is madness!

Corr.: What measures would you propose to bring the economy to normal?

V.F.: State orders must constitute 70 per cent of the state enterprises workload. The old system is still alive and accepts only tough methods. It was born amid violence and has a perverted sense of freedom. If state enterprises are given absolute freedom in the current monoploy system, they will immediately cut down production and raise prices. Market relations should be introduced gradually and state orders should be annually reduced by 10 per cent till their share drops, perhaps, to 5 per cent. In this case economy will be reorganized by enterprises themselves. They will decide whether or not to begin privatization.

Corr.: I understand you support privatization if it is not carried out in haste.

V.F.: That's right. Society must become ripe for privatization. People must understand what it is and why it is vital. What the leaders of the Russian Federation are doing now is neo-Bolshevism. Most of the Bolsheviks were honest people who believed they worked for the benefit of the nation. But they aspired for immediate results and tried to attain them at any cost. As a result, the country got drained in blood. Prosperity did not come, however Stalin was in such a hurry that in 1936 he proclaimed the complete victory of socialism. About the same thing is happening now. When I tell my opponents that improvement will not be felt earlier than in a ten years' time, they say that the people will not be able to wait for so long. Therefore, they say, one should declare that improvement will begin in a year and that abundance will come in a couple of years. That's nonsense. People still do not understand that we shall make faster progress if we move step by step towards a ten years' prospect. By treating the old system rigourously we shall keep production at a sufficiently stable level. The new private sector will be a meaningful addition to it.

Corr.: What you've said suggests that you do not support Boris Yeltsin's programme.

V.F.: I think Boris Yeltsin has made a difficult and brave step, and I respect him for that. At least, what he is proposing is better than anarchy, inaction and loss of bearings, although this is not the best programme for the current moment. And yet if we have decided to put our economy on a market footing, we must do so despite all sacrifices.

Corr.: Does this explain why you voted for giving Boris Yeltsin extraordinary powers?

V.F.: That's right. Life itself will make us move towards the market.

Corr.: What is your political forecast then?

V.F.: Prices will soar up about 10 times. Why? Because there is a state monopoly on the means of production and output, and, for that matter, on prices. Why bother to work when one can simply raise prices? People will really starve and there will be hunger riots, robberies and bandit raids. Then the time will come for introducing an extraordinary economic programme. Yeltsin's programme is mostly politically-oriented. But we'll need an economic one and we'll come back to what I was talking about today.

Leaves for Hokkaido Visit

OW2211145091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1402 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sakhalin's Governor Valentin Fedorov has left for the neighboring Japanese island of Hokkaido to exchange views with the local governor on the prospects of settling the Kuril dispute. Four Kuril islands were adjoined to the USSR after WWII and are now being claimed back by Japan.

Mr. Fedorov's visit is expected to last for about a week.

Kunadze Seeks Peace Treaty With Japan

OW2311110791 Tokyo KYODO in English 1052 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 23 KYODO—Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze said Saturday [23 November] the current Russian leadership wants an early signing of a peace treaty between the Soviet Union and Japan.

In an exclusive interview with KYODO NEWS SERVICE, Kunadze said he is currently negotiating a joint approach with Soviet Foreign Ministry officials on the issue of four disputed islands which Japan wants returned before a peace treaty can be signed.

The dispute involves Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan and the Habomai group of islets, which are located to the northeast of Japan's northernmost main island of Hokkido and are currently part of the Russian Federation's territory. The Soviet Union seized the islands at the end of World War II.

After the failed coup in Moscow, the Russian Federation has assumed virtual jurisdiction over negotiations on the territorial issue from the Kremlin.

It is the first time Kunadze has spoken to the Japanese media since assuming the leadership of the Soviet delegation to a joint Japan-Soviet subgroup set up in October to discuss the territorial dispute within working-level peace treaty talks.

Kunadze said two diplomatic documents in 1956 would be a basis for studies as part of formulating Moscow's new territorial policy.

One of the documents to which Kunadze referred is the Japan- Soviet joint declaration in which Moscow promised to return Shikotan and the Habomais to Japan. The other is a note exchanged between chief Japanese delegate to talks with the Soviet Union, Shunichi Matsumoto, and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko, which called for continued negotiations on the territorial dispute.

Kunadze said Russian President Boris Yeltsin hopes to visit Japan in the first half of 1992 and reach a settlement on the territorial issue which satisfies the people of both nations.

He also said he wants to hold the first meeting of the subgroup as part of the peace treaty negotiations in early January.

In 1990, when Kunadze headed the Japanese politics section within the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, he was a critic of the Soviet revocation of the Japan-Soviet joint declaration.

Kunadze said his position had not changed since assuming the post of Russia's deputy foreign minister.

"There are no new elements to the longstanding territorial problem," Kunadze said. "It's a matter of how to put all the existing elements together, like a mosaic."

Kunadze also said an overly early conclusion to a peace treaty could backfire because of opinion within the Soviet Union opposed to any return of the territories to Japan.

"We should proceed at a pace within our means," he said.

Oil Companies Bid on Rights to Sakhalin Shelf

OW2511010791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2116 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The American-Australian-South Korean consortiuam BHP-Amoco-Hyundai announced that if the consortium is granted the right to exploit oil and gas deposits on Sakhalin's shelf, it will be able to begin extracting natural gas in 1994. Up to now, other participants in the Sakhalin tender have cited 1995-98 as realistic years to begin operations.

BHP-Amoco-Hyundai reported that it is willing to invest in the modernization of Sakhalin's water supply system and telephone system. It would also invest in reconstructing port terminals and building petrochemical and brick factories on the island. In addition, the consortium said it would offer Sakhalin a $46 mn [million] grant and 1000 tons of rice.

BHP-Amoco-Hyundai experts say that it will cost $14.338 bn [billion] to exploit Sakhalin's oil and gas deposits. This amount includes the estimated $80 mn needed to carry out additional geological research.

In 1991, Amoco won an international tender in Azerbaijan. There it was granted the right to open up the oil deposit "Azeri."

Information received by IF [INTERFAX] indicates that representatives of Japanese companies which are participating in the Sakhalin tender mentioned during negotiations that the Japanese Government might be reluctant to offer the Soviet Far East promised aid, if a Japanese company does not win the tender.

During the most recent Russian-Japanese negotiations, Japan offered an aid package worth $2.5 bn.

Three Japanese companies are participating the the Sakhalin tender: —Hitsui—jointly with McDermott and Marathon (USA)—Sodec—jointly with Shell (the Netherlands)—Sodec—jointly with Exxon (USA).

Moldova

Minister on Romanian Unification, Border

AU2611132591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1218 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 26/11/1991—In an interview with the newspaper "TINERETUL LIBER", the Moldovan Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi said that the aim of his recent visit to Bucharest had been to step up the process of economic, commercial, and other integration on the basis of the inter-governmental agreement he signed with Mr. Petre Roman. "If a union with Romania occurred now I think there would be problems in Romania, too," Muravschi said, adding that "if Moldova were to join Romania there would be people to suggest that a number of areas should adhere elsewhere. We make great efforts for integration with Western countries, a process in which Romania will give us great assistance because it is an independent country. The Republic of Moldova will then support Romania in its palpable cooperation with the Union republics. Oil exploration, housing construction, and machine building are only some of the areas in which great interest is shown."

Referring to the opening of the borders between Romania and the Republic of Moldova, Mr. Muravschi said: "We must consider our realities. There is one thing to want something and then there is reality, which does not allow you to attain what you want, is quite another. We must justly understand the reality in the former Soviet Union, the economic situation, and the role of the Mafia. If the process of crossing borders is very much simplified, that is to say, if there is no control, a great threat will emerge. Many of the persons east of Moldova will penetrate Romania causing the destabilization of the economy. The threat is great. That is why these problems should be solved in a civilized manner, the way it is done in other countries. We are situated in the Soviet Union, where there are disbalanced economic processes."

Official Says Romania 'Natural Ally'

LD2311111191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2245 GMT 21 Nov 91

[By correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev, 22 Nov (TASS)—"At this point in time there is only Romania that we can really rely on," said Aleksandru Moshanu, chairman of the Moldavan parliament, in an interview to the "GLASUL NATSIUNIY" ["Voice of the Nation"] weekly.

He thinks that Romania is Moldova's natural ally. In the concrete situation in which it has found itself, Moldova is threatened with isolation without Romania. In his words, checking the natural process of a mutual closeness between Moldova and Romania would mean "running to Moscow again, allowing one's hands and legs to be tied up."

The chairman of Moldova's parliament confirms that at the moment there are two criteria along which one can trace a demarcation of forces in the highest body of legislative power in the republic: First, there is the attitude to the popular front and to national problems, and second, there is the attitude toward Romania. He is convinced that the situation in Moldova will depend on an alliance with Romania. If we don't trust Romania, all our efforts are doomed to failure, and we will again be deprived of freedom, stated A. Moshanu.

Deputy Opposes Unification With Romania

LD2411052491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0757 GMT 23 Nov 91

[By correspondents Dmitriy Borisov and Viktor Leu]

[Excerpt] Bucharest, 23 Nov (TASS)—The unification of the Republic of Moldova and Romania might result in the outburst of dissatisfaction of hundreds of people and will be a real catastrophe for our republic. This was stated by Vlad Dariye, presidential adviser and a deputy of Moldova's parliament, at a news conference last night. He told Romanian and foreign journalists that the republic's current economic situation does not allow its unification with Romania. "If we were to cancel an economic agreement concluded with other states of the former USSR, Moldova will find itself completely paralyzed and unable, for years to come, to restore or to redirect its economy," the deputy from Kishinev stressed. Public opinion polls that are being carried out in the republic show that approximately 80 precent of the population share this opinion today, added Andrey Tsurkanu, another participant of this meeting. [passage omitted]

Leaders Condemned Over Share of USSR Debt

AU2511130391 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 21-22 Nov 91 p 1

["Statement of the Parliamentary Faction of the Popular Front of Moldova on Bessarabia's 'Financial-Hard Currency Bondage'"]

[Text] Through the signing in Moscow on 19 November 1991 of the "memorandum" on the foreign debts of the colonies of the disintegrating Soviet empire, the executives of the Republic of Moldova committed an anticonstitutional act.

The recent Economic Community Treaty formulated in Alma-Ata and signed in Moscow, as well as the aforementioned "memorandum," constitute an economic diversion with disastrous effects not only for the citizens of the current Republic of Moldova but also for future generations.

Thus the government flagrantly violates certain conventions previously signed by the leadership of the Republic of Moldova and compromises (how many times already) the Republic of Moldova as a partner at international negotiation tables.

World public opinion is disappointed with the incompetence and inconsistency of the executives of the Republic of Moldova in solving the problems of the movement for national liberation. The Baltic people, the Ukrainians, Uzbeks, and Azerbaijan people are sorry for us because their leaders knew how to defend their vital interests by adopting reasonable and constructive positions contrary to the executives in Chisinau [Kishinev], who are throwing us, our children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren into unprecedented financial-hard currency bondage. The few billions of dollars established as Moldova's debt toward foreign countries will increase with every passing year, thus once again turning the national economy into an annex of the empire.

World practice does not know of cases when occupied territories, after achieving their independence, are pressured to pay off the debts of their former conquerors.

The direct responsibility for the economic, social, and political consequences linked to the signing of the Economic Community Treaty and the "memorandum" rests on President Mircea Snegur and Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi.

President: M. Drucab

Secretary: M. Dimitriu

Prime Minister Interviewed on Accords

AU2511103591 Bucharest LUMEA No.46 in Romanian 14 Nov 91 p 5

[Interview with Moldovan Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi by correspondent Ioan David in Kishinev; broadcast by Romanian Radio Current Events Program on 9 November 1991: "Economic Accord Without Political Obligations"]

[Text] [David] Mr. Prime Minister, first of all I want to thank you for your kind response to our invitation to address the listeners of the Romanian Radio Current Events Program.

Three days ago you signed the Economic Community Treaty of sovereign states in Moscow after paying a visit to Bucharest, where you talked to Romanian political and state personalities. Is there any connection between your visit to Bucharest and the signing of the Economic Community Treaty?

[Muravschi] I believe there is a connection, namely that we need to achieve an integration of our republic with Romania—I speak of economic integration as well as integration in other areas such as culture, education, and science. As is well known, last summer we signed an intergovernmental accord between the Romanian Government and the government of our republic, however there are various barriers and various obstacles in the path of implementing this accord. This visit was necessary in order to find solutions to certain concrete problems and to create conditions to accelerate the integration process.

[David] Did you succeed in identifying in Bucharest those factors that hampered the implementation of the accords established in the past?

[Muravschi] Yes, I did. One of the major barriers is the lack of hard currency in paying for the delivery of goods and resources from our republic to Romania and the other way around. Therefore we agreed upon opening a mixed bank in Bucharest. We achieved even more than that, together with Mr. Stolojan we signed a technical cooperation accord in Bucharest. The financial means—in rubles—obtained from the manufacture of the respective products in our republic will be deposited and centralized on an account in the National Bank and the organizations authorized by the Romanian Government will use this account to procure various products or resources from our republic, or, through us, goods from other republics and other regions of the former Soviet Union.

[David] Hence, a solution has been found for deblocking this mechanism. When will this bank be set up?

[Muravschi] Our experts are working with their counterparts in Bucharest. I believe that this problem will be solved in the second half of November.

[David] I understand that the difficulties you encountered in implementing the accord between Bucharest and Chisinau [Kishinev], in one way or another, or to a greater or lesser extent, have led to focusing your attention toward this Economic Community Treaty. Evidently, nobody can question the fact that you are integrated into a Union structure from which it is very difficult to escape overnight. Nevertheless, in your capacity as an economist, do you believe that one can talk—the way in which very many statements have been made—about the fact that this treaty is purely economical and not political?

[Muravschi] You are indeed right. We have to get out of the current reality. In the process of integration with the West there are various problems; you see, even with Romania, with whom we are brothers, there are still integration problems. We, the government of our republic, deemed it necessary to sign this treaty. If we think about our future, I believe that it would be a mistake if we lost our positions in the East. Moreover, the Romanian economy also has difficulties especially in the area of natural resources and energy resources. We believe that cooperation would be welcome, in the sense that, through us, Romanian economic companies could penetrate the East.

[David] There is something paradoxical here, at least the way I see it. The Economic Community Treaty of sovereign states has been signed; however, the republics of the Union have not mutually recognized each other as independent states. How do you see this issue?

[Muravschi] I have explained my position, namely that signing the economic treaty will not signify the acceptance of any political formula; it will not signify the acceptance of any political or military accord, or any other type of accord. I believe that the current situation in Russia is very complicated; to a great extent the future of this economic accord depends on the solutions to problems here.

[David] Thus, in practical terms, you will continue to favor direct, horizontal relations between republics.

[Muravschi] Yes. Even during the meeting with the representatives of the Russian Government, after this accord had been signed, it was said: "Good fellows, do not hope that the government will succeed in implementing the signed accord; begin horizontal connections and direct ties."

[David] What you are saying now is connected with the objections that you made when signing the Economic Community Treaty. Could you mention a few of those objections? I believe they are of great importance.

[Muravschi] We first of all signed the accord with the Ukrainian prime minister; all the other republics signed it at a summit level. Through this move, we stressed again that we admit only the economic formula and nothing else.

I would like to refer to two or three major ideas. The accord signed by "the eight" stipulates that resolutions, decisions, and normative acts received by the economic community from the Council of the Heads of Governments, which is the supreme body of the Community, should be endorsed through a majority of votes and should be obligatory for all members of the community. We have categorically stated that we do not like this formula. We must have the right of veto if we do not agree with the position of the majority.

[David] Therefore, the endorsement of decisions is conditional upon the endorsement of the respective decisions by all signatory members.

[Muravschi] Yes, indeed. Another objection in principle was the following: the accord signed by "the eight" stipulated that the migration of people, of citizens from states which make up the economic community is not limited and not regulated. That means that each person can live where he wants to live and work there. We said that we are emphatically against this. Such an opposition is the right of each state, because in our case the republic is overpopulated, and it is not possible for us to receive citizens from other republics.

The decision also stipulates that the accord should be forwarded for examination and ratification to the parliament of the republic, but only on one condition—with the objections of the government of the republic. Otherwise, the government of the republic will not support the ratification of this accord.

[David] So, these were your recommendations. If the parliament is going to ratify this document with the required amendments, but the supreme body of the economic community will refuse these amendments, then what will be the outcome?

[Muravschi] If our position is not taken into consideration in finding solutions to one problem or another, the Republic of Moldova will not participate in the community. The cooperation will be partial. I would compare our small republic with a ship that is passing through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles: There are rocks on both sides, but we want to get out to the Mediterranean, and we must be very calm and quiet in order to avoid hitting any rocks. There is no point in getting out to the Mediterranean on only a board from our small ship.

[David] Much depends also on the person who is at the helm.

[Muravschi] Certainly.

Ukraine

Presidium Statement on 'Own' Armed Forces

LD2511194291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Balykov]

[Text] Kiev, 25 Nov (TASS)—The USSR State Council's decisions of 4 and 14 November 1991 on the preservation of a single armed forces as well as the fact that the leadership of the Union's Ministry of Defense is ignoring the contitutional right of the sovereign Ukraine to set up its own armed forces do not correspond to the legislative acts of the Ukraine. Such was the conclusion of the Presidium of the republican Supreme Soviet, which made a statement on the armed forces of Ukraine. It notes that this is leading to tension among the personnel of military formations stationed on the republic's territory and is having a negative effect on their moral and psychological state and combat readiness.

This document says that the Ukraine is creating its own armed forces exclusively to guarantee its defense against external military threats, no matter where these may come from and to guarantee the inviolability of its state borders and territorial integrity. The use of these armed forces never will be permitted against the people of Ukraine or other sovereign states, and they will pursue the single aim of guaranteeing peace and calm on its territory. To avoid the destabilization of the situation and the lowering of combat readiness, both in Ukraine and in other republics of the former Union, the process of setting up an armed forces of Ukraine is being implemented, taking account of the existing sociopolitical realities, and only on a legal basis, in stages, through the joint determination of military policy, the adoption by the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine of legislative acts, the drawing up and conclusion of the appropriate treaties and agreements, and the holding of consultations with other sovereign states and the Ministry of Defense of the USSR on the elaboration and implementation of the mechanism of reforming the all-Union armed forces. The statement once again notes Ukraine's intention to become, in the future, a neutral, nonnuclear state, and its desire to participate in the implementation of all treaties on the nonuse of nuclear weapons and the reduction of conventional arms and to promote the ratification of agreements on these issues between the USSR and the United States and other states.

Defense Minister Comments on Armed Forces

LD2611091191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] We have no reason to remove from the agenda the issue of national armed forces. According to the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY, this is the comment of Colonel General Konstantin Morozov, Ukrainian defense minister, in the Ukrainian military newspaper NARODNAYA ARMIYA [PEOPLE'S ARMY], on the USSR State Council decision to preserve unified armed forces. In his words, the transfer of only border and Interior Ministry forces to Ukrainian control does not fit the concept passed by the republic's Supreme Soviet on the establishment of its own armed forces. The minister recalled that the sovereign republics' right to their own national army and guard was mutually affirmed during the recent talks between Ukrainian and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic delegations. However, until a political decision is made and a legal framework created, the forces should remain structured as before and perform their previously defined duties. The Ukrainian Defense Ministry is working on a military doctrine, the military-technical part of which is already complete, said Konstantin Morozov.

Guard Commander on Transfer of Union Forces

LD2511223791 Moscow TASS Inernational Service in Russian 2046 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 25 Nov (TASS)—All internal troops deployed on Ukraine's territory should be taken out of the structure of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in full complement and "handed over gratuitously" to the republic, Vladimir Kukharts, commander of Ukraine's National Guard, stated.

In an interview published in tomorrow's KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, he stresses that Ukraine occupies "a firm position" on this question, and it "will not be handing over any kind of units" to the Union Ministry of Internal Affairs.

According to Kukharts, in the first stage Ukraine's National Guard will be created on the basis of operative and special motorized units of the militia, comprising about 30,000 people. In the second stage the numbers of the National Guard will be taken up to 50,000. The National Guard commander says, however, that requirements for such a quantity of guards may not arise—"everything will depend upon the situation in Ukraine and in the country as a whole."

Prime Minister on Payment of Union Debt

PM2611115191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 91 Union Edition p 1

[By correspondent S. Tsikora: "V. Fokin: We Will Pay Our Debts"]

[Text] The Ukraine's position on covering the foreign debts of the former Soviet Union was officially presented by the republic's prime minister, Vitold Fokin.

This was his second meeting with journalists in connection with the fact that the Ukraine has not signed the memorandum on the Union's debts. I shall recall that on his return from Moscow, the head of the Ukrainian Government said at the aircraft gangway that a "shameful document" had been signed and that those who had not held out and had signed it had not done this in the interests of their peoples. At a briefing two days later, the prime minister did not take back his words, although he noted that at the time he was "in a state of extreme annoyance" and could not find milder and smoother expressions.

From the statement which V. Fokin made at the briefing, it follows unequivocally that the Ukraine will pay unconditionally its share of the former Soviet Union's foreign debt. The absence of the republic's signature to the document of the talks with representatives of the "big seven" means not a difference on the fundamental issue with the foreign bankers but a rejection of the working methods of those who are studying the problem of the Union's debts on our side. The former Union departments are concealing from the republics the true sum of the USSR's foreign debts, are failing to provide information about our property abroad, and are hiding data on the Union's assets abroad. Here they want the Ukraine to sign a promissory note that does not indicate how much it owes.

That is why the Ukraine insists, the head of the republic's government said, on the immediate distribution of all assets and reserves of the USSR in accordance with the principles agreed by all powers that were subjects of the former USSR. Unless the Ukraine receives exhaustive information about the foreign debts and assets of the former Union, it "retains the right to use the opportunities included in article 32 of the Economic Community Treaty."

"We have in mind," Fokin said, "the re-registration with all creditors of that part of the foreign debt of the former Union that is the responsibility of the Ukraine and the independent repayment of that part."

The head of the republic's government then stated that the Ukraine is asking the international community to provide the states that were former members of the USSR with all information about the Union's assets abroad. This information will promote the speediest repayment of the republics' debts.

Canada Considers Recognition of Sovereignty

OW2511223391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2032 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Canada will respect the democratic choice of the Ukrainian people and recognize the new state's independence if the Ukrainian population votes for it during the referendum on December 1, says the statement circulated by the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's press service with reference to the Canadian Foreign Minister, Barbara MacDugall.

Mrs. MacDugall said, hovever, that her country would like to secure from the Ukraine certain guarantees, including the ones related to the use of the nuclear arsenal, the formation of the Ukrainian army and the rights of ethnic minorities.

Roundup of Australian Minister's Visit

LD2411064591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1737 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Kiev, 22 Nov (TASS)—The capital of the Ukraine was visited today by Gareth Evans, the Australian minister for foreign affairs and trade, who is on an official visit to the Soviet Union.

Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, pointed out during a conversation with Gareth Evans that Australia is regarded as one of the priority countries with which the Ukraine wishes to have varied relations—political, economic, diplomatic, and other kinds.

Gareth Evans handed Leonid Kravchuk a letter from Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke. It was stated that Australia intends to open a consulate in Kiev.

In a conversation with the Australian minister, Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Konstantin Masik pointed to the Ukraine's interest in receiving investment and advanced technologies from Western countries so as to reequip its industrial and agricultural potential.

Like other states throughout the world, Australia is closely following the processes occurring in the Soviet Union, Gareth Evans noted. We take account of these processes and, while maintaining good contacts with the center, we are devoting more and more attention to links with the republics.

Gareth Evans also met Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko. He expressed the hope, specifically, that Australia would support the resolution submitted by the delegations of the Ukraine, Belarus [Belorussia], and the Soviet Union at the session of the UN General Assembly on the pooling of international efforts to minimize the consequences of the Chernobyl accident.

The visitor also met republican presidential candidates and representatives of private business.

Minister Holds News Conference

LD2411064691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1905 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By UKRINFORM correspondents Aleksey Petrunya and Leksey Trotsenko]

[Text] Kiev, 22 Nov (TASS)—"The main conclusion I have drawn during my visit to the Soviet Union is that the republics' drive toward independence and sovereignty is a natural and irreversible process. I became convinced of this yet again during my visit to the Ukraine," declared Gareth Evans, Australian minister for foreign affairs and trade. He addressed a news conference for Ukrainian and foreign journalists that took place at the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry press center.

The minister noted that interest in the Ukraine was constantly growing in Australia. This also stemmed from the fact that the country was peopled by quite a few ethnic Ukrainians who played an active part in Australia's political and economic life, as well as by the fact that the country's business circles were seeking to extend contacts with the Ukraine.

Touching on the question of Australia's recognition of Ukrainian independence, the minister said that the matter needed to be approached in a well-considered and cautious manner, taking account of international legal criteria. "While maintaining and developing relations with the center, we do, at the same time, realize the need to initiate contacts with the sovereign republics, and we acknowledge the peoples' right to self-determination," he emphasized.

Agriculture Minister Quits Presidential Race

OW2511233991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2032 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [25 November], the Ukraine's State Minister for Agriculture Aleksandr Tkachenko, withdrew from the presidential election. He said his decision was motivated by the need to elect a president as soon as possible and stabilize the political situation in the Ukraine. Mr. Tkachenko urged his supporters to cast their votes for the current chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Leonid Kravchuk. The remaining six candidates continue their presidential race.

Leader Accused of 'Falsifying' Treaty Votes

OW2511235191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2032 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the All-Ukrainian Working People's Solidarity Association accused Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk of "putting pressure on the deputies and falsifying the results of voting on the Economic Community Treaty on November 6." The leaders of this organization have sent their official statement to the Credentials Commission of the Ukrainian parliament and to the republic's Procurator's Office.

As was earlier reported, as a result of the voting, Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin was instructed to initial the Economic Community Treaty.

Kravchuk Interviewed on Treaties, Election

PM2611103091 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 91 p 2

[Interview with L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, by O. Musafirova in Kiev under "Presidential Race" rubric—date not stated]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Musafirova] Leonid Makarovich, evil tongues assert: The peculiarity of Ukrainian politics is that on the main issues the republic's top people have two standpoints—one for Moscow, and the other for Kiev. Therefore Moscow usually expects the opposite of what is to happen in the Ukraine. For example, the Economic Community Treaty... When the Supreme Soviet will ratify the treaty, or whether this will happen at all, is unknown. Does this mean that the Ukrainian side's participation in the community is a purely political act, whose nature will finally be revealed after the 1 December referendum and elections?

[Kravchuk] It is hard for me to say how all this will proceed after 1 December... But there is no double point of view at the present time. Gorbachev, incidentally, also once remarked that he pins no special hopes on the treaty. The treaty is a framework; it defines general principles, but we absolutely cannot imagine what the appendices will look like: on the financial system, on the credit, banking, and monetary systems. These appendices are simply not in existence yet! If they do not contradict our republic's resolutions and laws, I do not think any great difficulty will arise in ratifying them.

We are all subject to life's enormous pressures. Look how Russia has announced out of hand that it intends to free prices. But the document says that such things must be decided jointly... So what will happen now? Are we to keep relying on an abstract document? I have more faith in a treaty with Russia than in this community, because I know for a fact that 40 million tonnes of oil come here and 1.15 million tonnes of sugar go there—that is business! But so far the community does not have a working mechanism.

[Musafirova] What do you expect will be the consequences of this policy, for you personally and for the Ukraine?

[Kravchuk] Well, the most widely diverging consequences are possible. They will be determined by the collapse of the economy, which is inevitable whether we have general, particular, or horizontal relations. In the first instance, if we do not sign the treaty and everything collapses, they will say: Kravchuk is to blame. In the second, if we do sign and everything collapses just the same, the other side will start accusing: Look, they will say, they did not search for new options, but plunged in... And in both cases there are objective causes for the collapse. But a solution is to be found in the third instance. The economic base, which everyone has destroyed surreptitiously, must be created anew.

[Musafirova] In a recent news conference you stated that it is time talk about the Novo-Ogarevo process stopped altogether. And now the session in Novo-Ogarevo is continuing, and meanwhile you are giving an interview in Kiev...

[Kravchuk] They called me and asked if I would come. Well, first, I do not believe that the Novo-Ogarevo process will succeed. What Union are we talking about? If we are talking about solving general questions, for instance, military-strategic or space questions, I vote in favor with both hands. But for this the creation of a Union with a Cabinet of Ministers and a presidential team is not compulsory. This is a return to the old structures, which could be the beginning of a big disaster, since the overwhelming majority of the people will not accept this.

The center has compromised itself. They are saying: The center will not be the same, but different, and the republics will create it... But who created it before?

In my opinion, if something is to be tried, it should be tried—and I especially stress this—on a fundamentally new basis. Novo-Ogarevo is finished because of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency]. A new stage of work means the creation of something like the European Community.

[Musafirova] Are you familiar with the new draft Treaty on the Union of Sovereign States, Leonid Makarovich?

[Kravchuk] Yes, I received the document, but I told Mikhail Sergeyevich that there is a decision by our Supreme Soviet to the effect that the Ukraine does not intend to do anything before the referendum. Let us get our bearings and see what happens. Why create the mere semblance of work...

[Musafirova] Only six months ago a portrait of Lenin hung behind your back in your office and you talked about how much it meant to you. Today the wall is bare... Has the situation changed, or your attitude to Lenin?

[Kravchuk] Neither. After it was decided to remove the statue of Lenin from the parliamentary hall of sessions and the bust from the Presidium room, I, as chairman of the Supreme Soviet, felt that I have no right to keep the portrait where it was and oppose my personal viewpoint to the Presidium and the Supreme Soviet. A formal act took place—that is all.

[Musafirova] During the election campaign the chairman of the Supreme Soviet first appears surrounded by children to the delight of their parents, then, changing his image, at the stadium, dressed in jeans and sneakers, he kicks the ball into play, now he is trying to play the bandura... Is this what they call populism?

[Kravchuk] We are simply gradually adopting Western forms of battle for the presidential chair. People are interested in a lot of things which I never even suspected. Not only in my pay or what car I drive. They want to know how I spend my free time, what my family is like, my children and grandchildren, who my friends are, and how I relax. [passage omitted]

[Musafirova] At demonstrations you and I used to march under the red banners of the USSR and the red-and-blue banners of the Soviet Ukraine. Under what flag will the state delegation of sovereign Ukraine now appear outside the motherland?

[Kravchuk] Under the yellow-and-blue flag, in accordance with the Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision.

[Musafirova] But I think you were not always so favorably disposed to this color scheme?

[Kravchuk] When I was a head of department and secretary for ideology of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, I did indeed not always think, that is to say, think the same as I do now, about the national flag. The thing is that even those posts did not enable me to get hold of archive materials of, say, the Ukrainian People's Republic. Only when I became chairman of the Supreme Soviet did I see the documents: how the Ukrainian People's Republic government conducted its sessions, how they discussed questions, how they debated. In short, many things became clear. But before this the information I had was one-sided, tendentious, and propagandist. Until I myself destroyed that belief in "bourgeois nationalists," with the help of the archives.

[Musafirova] After the events of August you yourself left the CPSU and signed the ban on Communist Party activity on the territory of the republic. But do you rule out the possibility of an independent but communist Ukrainian state emerging in the future?

[Kravchuk] To be honest, I do not envisage the revival of the Communist Party. I was chatting in Donetsk Oblast with the oblast soviet and with other leaders—they think in entirely different terms. There is, of course, a group of old Bolsheviks or members of the same apparatus for whom the party is a need and nostalgia for it is active. But the main bulk of the people who still have party cards—workers, kolkhoz members—have something to occupy themselves with other than underground party work. I assure you...

Kravchuk Signs Order To Rechannel Party Funds

LD2511212791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk has signed an order on the transfer of 25 million rubles that previously belonged to the Ukrainian Communist Party to the restoration of churches and other buildings of worship in the republic.

Poll Shows Support for Kravchuk in Election

LD2411133991 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2115 GMT 23 Nov 91

["Politics"—subhead]

[Text] [no dateline as received]—More than 50 [percent] of voters intend to cast their votes for Leonid Kravchuk at December 1 presidential elections. The poll conducted in November by the Ukrainian TV and Radio Public Opinion Service has also shown that 84.6 [percent] of respondents said they will go to the polls of the national referendum on December 1 (the October figure was 78.4 [percent]). Positive attitude towards the Ukrainian independence act was voiced by 79 [percent] of those polled (72.4 [percent] in October) and 82.2 [percent] have named economic self-sufficiency as the mainstay of the republican independence (71.1 [percent in October]). About 2,000 persons residing in various regions of the Ukraine and representing diverse social strata answered the questions of the poll.

Prime Minister Views Stance on Foreign Debt

PM2511132191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 91 p 2

[By correspondent M. Odinets: "What Are Our Debts?"]

[Text] Kiev—Ukrainian Prime Minister V. Fokin, returning from Moscow where he and the chairmen of the other republics' cabinets of ministers have been meeting with representatives of the G-7 governments, gave an interview to a Ukrainian radio correspondent as he stepped down from the plane.

"The sides agreed that all the talks would be held behind closed doors," the prime minister said. "But since Central Television has already shown some material I can say that, in my view, we are increasingly heading toward an impasse. Today there was another opportunity to halt this faltering process and give a direct answer to the question of what the foreign debts of the former Soviet Union are and what the Union's foreign assets are. I cannot imagine someone signing a promissory note which does not specify how much that person or state owes. I consider such a situation to be nonsense. I do not have the moral right to reproach those who did not hold out and who signed this shameful document but I believe that they did not do so in the interests of their own peoples. When we, the representatives of sovereign states, sit down at the negotiating table and establish mutual understanding among ourselves, and when comprehensive information is presented, then it will be possible to decide whether to sign this memorandum. I would like to confirm that the Ukraine is not repudiating its share of the debts, but the Ukraine does lay claim to the property and assets which are abroad.

"The percentage of the total debt owed by our republic has been determined: 16.3 percent. But we are talking about the state debt and the scale of the debts under the so-called commercial credits incurred by USSR ministries and departments and all kinds of consortiums and concerns is being hidden even from us. We do not know where that money has gone. I am convinced of one thing, that the Ukrainian people did not receive a single kopek of those credits. What kind of person would I be if I disregarded the interests of the people and signed this document."

Prisoners To Finish Sentences in Republic

LD2611045891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2158 GMT 25 Nov 91

["Television News Service" report]

[Text] After establishing the principles of independence in the military sphere, now the Ukrainian authorities have started talking about prisons. According to a report in VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA newspaper, the republic's Interior Ministry has promised to transfer all prisoners who are Ukrainian citizens to serve their sentences on the territory of the republic.

Interrepublic Affairs

Presidents Invited to Moscow 27 Nov

LD2511194691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1825 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Moscow, 25 Nov (TASS)—The USSR State Council has proposed that the presidents of Azerbaijan and Armenia come to Moscow on 27 November in connection with the sharp exacerbation of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and in relations between Azerbaijan and Armenia. It is intended to discuss the situation with the participating presidents and to map out the measures necessary to prevent an escalation of the conflict.

Armenia

Republic Appeals to UN Over 'Undeclared War'

NC2611085691 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 24 Nov 91

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet's Standing Commissions on Human Rights and Nationalities and Disaster Zone and Refugee Affairs have issued a joint declaration.

The declaration recounts the deepening antagonism between Armenian and Azerbaijan and notes that the undeclared war continues against sovereign Armenia, the Nagorno-Karabakh republic, and Armenians living in Armenian-inhabited regions of Nagorno-Karabakh. This war is being waged by military force and a blockade of Armenian and Nagorno-Karabakh, the declaration adds.

The commissions' demand that something be done to resolve the issue is the message to the republics taking part in the Economic Association, the International Red Cross and Red Crescent, and the United Nations. The commissions believe that the problem should be submitted to the UN Security Council.

Parliament Session Notes NKAO Conflict

NC2611120591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Report by Garine Yelanozyan and Mesrop Saakyan from the Armenian Supreme Soviet 25 November session in Yerevan; recorded]

[Excerpts] [Yelanozyan] In opening the session today, Secretary Supreme Soviet Chairperson Ara Saakyan gave the podium to Seyran Bagdasaryan, chairman of the Special Commission on Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO] before the agenda issues were debated. Bagdasaryan spoke about the situation on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border and in Nagorno-Karabakh. Here is his speech:

[Bagdasaryan] Esteemed Deputies: As you know from the news and information services, the Armenian-Azerbaijani negotiations were going on and scheduled to continue on last Friday, 22 November. However, the helicopter—which took off from the Azerbaijani city of Agdam carrying a number of high-level Azerbaijani leaders, representatives of the observers groups, and high-level military officers—crashed, causing the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and along the entire Armenian-Azerbaijani border to become aggravated.

Let me say a few words about the event: First, the helicopter only fell some 3 km inside Nagorno-Karabakh; that is, 3 km inside Martuni from Agdam-Martuni border road, on the slope of a hill nearly 300 meters high. All those Azerbaijani assumptions and proof with which they try confirm that the helicopter was shot down [words indistinct]. On that foggy and misty day [words indistinct] the helicopter declined to take off a few times. Finally it was decided that the helicopter should fly. It took off and was overloaded. This type of helicopter cannot carry that many men if it is carrying freight. They (?carry) additional fuel supply. All these lead to the accident. The causes of the accident are being investigated. The Azerbaijani side, however, by showing [words indistinct] on the Central Television have created an enormous anti-Armenian hysteria, the result of which are [word indistinct]. [passage omitted]

After the helicopter crash, the situation has (?aggravated) in Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenian borders. So far there have been six victims from our side, and two to three people were gunned down in Stepanakert. [passage omitted]

The number of Armenian victims in Nagorno-Karabakh since 1 January 1991 is now 153. [words indistinct] More than 250 Armenians have been taken hostage and are now in Azerbaijani prisons [words indistinct]. There are reports that the Azerbaijanis are using these Armenians in forced labor. [passage omitted]

[Saakyan] Deputy Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan then took the rostrum and presented the bill on the changes in government structure, and the deputies began debates on the changes. The bill called for the cancellation of the posts of three deputy prime ministers [varchapeti tegakal], instead a post of vice premier [pokh varchapet]. (?Six) state ministers [petakan nakhararner] are appointed. They will run the following sectors: industry, energy, disaster zone, construction, transport, executive organs of local governments, trade and services, agricultural affairs, science, culture, and social affairs.

A minister without a portfolio is to be appointed to carry out special instructions of the president and government.

The present state committees affiliated to the Council of Ministers will be transformed into ministries, state administrations [petakan varchutyunner], and inspectorates [teschutyunner].

Instead of the former 18 ministries and (?10) state committees, there will be 22 ministries, 8 state administrations, and 1 state inspectorate.

With these changes, the staff at the central apparatus will be reduced by nearly (?855) persons, falling from 3,746 to (?2,901).

The deputies examined the ministerial and state administration changes, and the debate centered on the creation of health, sports, press, and culture ministries. The deputies opposed joining health and sports sectors into one ministry and decided to establish two separate ministries. They also opposed creating a press ministry on the basis of State Committees on Press and Radio and Television Broadcasting. [words indistinct]. The parliament decided to create a separate television and radio broadcasting state administration. The parliament also did not endorse plans for the Education Ministry, which included the Ministry of Enlightenment and the State Committee for Science and Higher Education. It was decided that the Ministry of Enlightenment should remain a separate ministry. A long debate also developed on the idea of establishing a new state taxation inspectorate. [passage omitted]

After endorsing the bill on the changes into the republic's government structure in its totality, the deputies then took up the (?military service bill). [passage omitted]

The parliament adopted the bill on (?military duty and military service) without incident. [passage indistinct]

[Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian at 1950 GMT on 25 reports that "the deputies voted to confirm the structure of the government, which is made up of Armenian prime minister, the president of the government; vice prime minister, deputy president of the government; Armenian republic's state ministers; ministers of state administrations; and the heads of the state inspectorates.

["With 156 votes the parliament adopted the bill on the Armenian Republic's Government Composition and Structure." In its evening session, Vagan Shirkhanyan, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Commission on Defense and Internal Affairs, presented the bill on military service. After a brief exchange of views, the bill was unanimously adopted.

[The radio also reports that some deputies announced the formation of a "National Democrats" parliamentary group.

[The radio also adds, without detail, that "the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet adopted a declaration addressed to the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet and to the political organizations and religious leaders of the two republics."]

'Ulterior Motives' Seen in Council Session

NC2511213691 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 24 Nov 91

[From the republican press review]

[Text] One newspaper says that certain circles in Azerbaijan are bent on making political capital out of the helicopter disaster and reinstigating the anti-Armenian hysteria.

There are ulterior motives behind the drawing of hasty conclusions and the refusal to allow Russian and Kazakh experts and an international commission to take part in the investigation of the accident.

The ulterior motives are evident in the agenda set for the Azerbaijani parliament's 26 November extraordinary session in the wake of a three-day mourning period. It envisages examining the state border, the declaration of martial law in Azerbaijan, the security of Azerbaijan's defense, and the measures to be taken by the Azerbaijani Defense and Interior Ministries to protect the Azerbaijani population in Nagorno-Karabakh. For this reason, all Azerbaijani soldiers and officers are being recalled from the Soviet Army.

The parliament is also going to examine the status of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, terminating talks with Armenia, and severing all political and economic ties.

It is not difficult to foresee the consequences that the Azerbaijani parliament's decision might generate. The situation is fast approaching a point of military confrontation.

Republic Organizes National Guard Companies

NC2611051591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 24 Nov 91

[From the republican press review]

[Text] YERKIR reports that just like in the rest of the 10 border regions of the republic, a National Guard company is also being formed in Tavushskiy Rayon.

The rayon military commissar has sent cables to all those military educational institutions and academies where the young people from Tavushskiy are studying requesting them to return and serve in the native region.

Similar letters and cables were also sent to officers from Tavushskiy who have taken up permanent service elsewhere.

The company is being gradually filled in mostly by local draftees.

Government Discusses 'Subsistence' Measures

NC2611105791 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1600 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] The Armenian Council of Ministers met on 25 November under Vice President Gagik Arutyunyan and discussed measures to ensure the republic's subsistence under the economic blockade.

First Deputy Prime Minister Ruben Chiftalaryan presented a package of detailed measures which envisages the organization of freight transport and the introduction of a necessary regime for fuel-energy and foodstuff (?consumption). The meeting confirmed programs for the minimum requirements of the republic's population and measures to ensure the operation of the national economy.

On the same day a consultative meeting took place between the chairmen of the republic's rayon and city soviet executive committees and the heads of the relevant ministries. The meeting dealt with organizing central, district, and local headquarters for implementing measures to provide minimum provisions to the republic's population and ensure the operation of the national economy under the blockade. The formation of these headquarters would ensure the organized and timely implementation of the measures envisaged.

Moscow Representative Cited on Union Treaty

PM2511164591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[TASS-RIA, RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY, report under the "Panorama of the Country" rubric: "Armenia Considers Union Treaty Premature"]

[Text] Feliks Mamikonyan, the Republic of Armenia's permanent representative in Moscow, has stated that Armenia will not become a party to the Union treaty, due to be initialed 25 November. This treaty, he noted in a conversation with a RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent, does not reflect current political realities and has no vision. In the opinion of Armenia's permanent representative, attention at the moment should focus mainly on an economic agreement between the former Union republics which, in the first instance, reflects their vital interests. Mamikonyan also reported that the Armenian leadership, for all its critical attitude to the Union treaty, considers it expedient to preserve a united military-strategic and energy area within the framework of all 15 republics of the former Union.

Azerbaijan

Supreme Soviet To Consider Martial Law

LD2611091291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0800 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] An extraordinary session of Azerbaijan's Supreme Soviet has started its work in Baku. The agenda includes discussion of the situation in the region, the issue of declaring martial law in the republic, and the suspension of talks and all economic ties with Armenia.

Presidium Discusses War, Mobilization

LD2511223891 Berlin ADN in German 1842 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Baku/Moscow (ADN)—The Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed in Baku today a draft law on the introduction of a state of war and a mobilization declaration. The Moscow NEGA agency reported today that the Presidium also discussed the repatriation of Azerbaijanis serving in the Soviet Army, the dissolution of the autonomous area of Nagorno-Karabakh, and the status of the republic's border. The documents are to be presented to the Supreme Soviet of this Caucasus republic, which will meet on Tuesday (tomorrow) for an extraordinary session. [passage omitted]

Central TV News Crash Coverage Condemned

NC2611111791 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] Leading Azerbaijan Television and Radio Broadcasting Company officials sent the following telegram to Yakovlev, director of the All-Union Television and Radio Broadcasting Company:

The multinational collective of the Azerbaijan Television and Radio Broadcasting Company strongly condemns the coverage given by Central Television to the helicopter crash in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], in which prominent statesmen, military officials, and television correspondents from Azerbaijan, Russia, and Kazakhstan were killed, and outlines its logical reaction against this approach.

We regard the statement by Galina Strovodova, a USSR deputy from Armenia, on the Tele-Inform program on 23 November as an annoying and extremely biased statement against the Azerbaijani people. We see her demagogic statement, which was aimed at blaming others, as scandalous behavior against those who died and as an effort by the hired representative of the Armenian circles to aggravate the anti-Azerbaijani feeling.

The Azerbaijan Television and Radio Broadcasting Company demands, therefore, that a representative of the Azerbaijan television network be immediately given an opportunity to speak on the Tele-Inform program. We are prepared to submit the appropriate material by 1200 on 25 November.

Until our request is met, the relay of the Central Television's information program in Azerbaijan's territory will be halted beginning today. If the Central Television continues to maintain an unobjective approach on the incidents in our republic, we reserve the right to completely halt the relay of the Central Television's programs in Azerbaijan.

[Signed] Mamed Muradov, director of the Azerbaijan Television and Radio Broadcasting Company

Central TV Programs Suspended

LD2511143891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1240 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent Natan Barskiy]

[Excerpt] Baku, 25 Nov (TASS)—People in Azerbaijan were unable to watch Central Television news on Sunday [24 November] evening as broadcasting of the program was suspended in the republic. "From now on, if Central Television continues to give unobjective coverage to events in our republics, we reserve the right to stop transmission of Central Television programs completely," says a telegram sent today to Yegor Yakovlev, chairman of the All-Union Television and Radio Company, by Mamed Muradov, head of the republic's television.

The leadership and many thousands of workers at Azerbaijan's television and radio company state categorically that the position of Central Television on the shooting down of the helicopter in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, which led to the deaths of statesmen from Azerbaijan, Russia, and Kazakhstan, as well as military figures and television journalists, is unacceptable. [passage omitted]

Baku Rally Informed of 'Tense Situation'

NC2611111491 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 2050 GMT 24 Nov 91

[Text] The Popular Front of Azerbaijan held a meeting in Baku's Ataturk Square today when participants were informed of the republic's extremely tense situation. Later, front leader Ebulfez Elcibey; People's Deputy Sadi Rustamkahly; and Leyla Yenisova, member of the independent Social Democratic Party, spoke about the national army being urgently established in the republic, Azerbaijan's border defense, and that of towns in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Speakers called for parliament to be dissolved and a national council to be formed. Many of the organizations attending adopted an appeal to the president.

More Deaths, Damage in NKAO Reported

LD2511131691 Moscow TASS Inernational Service in Russian [illegible] GMT 25 Nov 91

[By correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert, 25 Nov (TASS)—Last night 21 "Alazan" missiles were launched on Stepanakert. The building of the rayon commandant's office for the state of emergency and two other buildings were damaged. Shells also fell on the territory of the military cantonment. There are no casualties. The population is hiding in basements and bomb shelters. According to a report from the commandant's office, troop maneuver groups neutralized by aimed fire a firing point near Shusha. According to preliminary data, one launch pad was destroyed and another was damaged. One car caught fire. No news of casualties has been received.

Shusha was also fired on for five minutes last night from the mountains. There was an exchange of fire from many types of weapons in the village of Kirkidzhan, where Armenians and Azerbaijanis live side by side. One Armenian was killed. No casualties have been reported on the Azerbaijani side.

Military outposts in Gadrut Rayon were shot at.

Stocks of fuel and flour have run out in Stepanakert. Telephone and telegraphic links between the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the outside world disappeared yesterday, and electricity has been cut off. One-third of the city is without water because of an explosion at a water intake installation; 70 percent of the city is without heat. Children's establishments are not functioning and school has been cancelled.

The authorities have appealed to the population not to give in to panic. The rayon commandant's office for the state of emergency is taking precautionary measures to prevent shooting and armed clashes.

Villages 'Left Without' Power

OW2611123791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR Interior Ministry reports that on Monday [25 November] groups of armed Armenians blasted a power transformer in Azerbaijan's Kazakh region adjoining Armenia. As a result several villages in the region were left without electricity. Repairs are in progress. The same day the villages of Alibeili and Kishlak in Azerbaijan's Tauz region came under fire from the direction of Armenia. 3 local residents were wounded. Sunday [24 November] night in Nagorno-Karabakh armed Armenians from Stepanakert opened fire on Kirkijan, city suburb populated by Azeris. 10 houses were damaged. A facility belonging to the local collective farm was burned. There were no casualties.

Servicemen Attend Funeral

LD2511143191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1157 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow, 25 Nov (TASS)—On Sunday [24 November], servicemen of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Troops accompanied on their last journey their martial comrades who died in the helicopter crash in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast: Major General Nikolay Zhinkin, commandant of the state of emergency region in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast; Major Vyacheslav Kotov, commander of the helicopter; Lieutenant Dmitriy Yalovenko, copilot and navigator; and Captain Gennadiy Dolgov, flight engineer.

This year alone 22 representatives of the internal troops have died in the country's crisis points. Since 1989, 51 people have died. These are people of the most varied ages and ranks, including 18 officers. Almost all the dead are Russians and Ukrainians. Many have been postumously decorated with military honors. Lieutenant Oleg Babak has received the decoration of Hero of the Soviet Union.

Azeris Fire At Soviet Army Patrol 24 Nov

OW2611122791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A group of Azeris fired at a Soviet army patrol Sunday [24 November] night on the road between Baku and Shemakha in Apsheron region of Azerbaijan.

As a result of return fire 3 attackers were killed and 4 wounded. 4 Kalashnikov submachineguns and Makarov pistols were confiscated from them.

Georgia

More Reportage on Conflict in South Ossetia

Residents Demand State of Emergency

LD2511194891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1850 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 25 Nov (TASS)—According to reports from South Ossetia, its residents demand that the USSR leadership immediately introduce a state of emergency across the entire territory of that autonomous republic and that children, women, and the elderly be evacuated from areas of military conflict. Although last night passed relatively calmly in South Ossetia, which aspires to be reunited with North Ossetia within Russia, local observers believe that this is but a temporary lull because of a regrouping of forces by Georgian guerrillas. As has been reported, the armed storming of Tskhinvali planned for 23 November was thwarted thanks to the fortitude of the defenders of the town and the interference of militia subunits from North Ossetia. Yet the threat of a new armed march on Tskhinvali is still great. Armed groups are fully controlling all bypass roads and individual sections of the Dzhava-Tskhinvali route. There is a catastrophic shortage of food and interruptions of supply of water, gas, and electricity in the town. According to USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs information, about 50 criminal acts in which weapons were used have been carried out by the Georgian side over the last two months alone. As a result, nine civilians have been killed and 20 wounded and more than 60 houses have been burned down and destroyed. Over the second 10 days in November alone, 34 cases of hostage-taking have been registered and 14 people, who were earlier listed as missing persons, have been found killed.

State of Emergency Revoked

LD2511195291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1850 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 25 Nov (TASS)—A decision to revoke the state of emergency in the town of Tskhinvali and the Dzhava Rayon of South Ossetia, which was imposed by the Georgian parliament last December, was adopted today by the Supreme Soviet of that Transcaucasian republic. In the opinion of the majority of deputies, such a decision will promote the elimination of the hotbed of tension in the region.

Threat of Attack 'Still Great'

LD2511132191 Moscow TASS in English 1221 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz November 25 TASS—Last night was relatively calm in South Ossetia. However, sporadic shots were fired at flashpoints on the outskirts of Tskhinvali and in the villages of Znauri district. There were no reports about any loss of life.

According to the press centre of the autonomous region's information committee, the lull is connected with a regrouping of the forces of Georgian militants. The failed armed assault on Tskhinvali on November 23, the fortitude of defenders of the city and intervention in the conflict by militia units from North Ossetia made militants retreat to the Georgian villages of Nikozi, Tamarasheni, Eredvi and Kekhvi where their missile launchers and artillery guns are positioned.

Meanwhile, the threat of an armed attack on Tskhinvali is still great. Armed groups continuously arrive from the direction of the Gori highway at the approaches to the city. They are fully in control of all round-about ways and of individual sections of the Dzhava-Tskhinvali road by which humanitarian aid supplies are transported from Vladikavkaz.

There is a disastrous shortage of food in the city. Water, gas and electric power supply is intermittent. All surgical operations at the regional hospital were cancelled because of the shortages of medicines and donor blood.

It has become known from reliable sources that militants continue their punitive actions in remote villages of Tskhinvali and Znauri districts.

Over the past three days alone, 25 Ossets have been taken hostage, 17 houses have been plundered and burned down and 80 head of cattle have been driven away.

The guarding of the northern end of the Rok tunnel has been enhanced on an instruction from the North Ossetian Interior Minister Georgiy Kantemirov, and armoured vehicles have been brought to the Transcaucasian highway and all transport vehicles are inspected.

The South Ossetia residents continue to urge the country's leadership to immediately impose a state of emergency throughout the region and urgently evacuate children, women and old men from the areas hit by the armed conflict.

The state-of-emergency regime remains in effect by a decree of the president of Georgia only in Tskhinvali and Dzhava district.

Interior Ministry on 'Tense' Situation

LD2511160791 Moscow TASS in English 1512 25 Nov 91

[By correspondent Vladimir Gonduvso]

[Text] Moscow November 25 TASS— The situation in South Ossetia remains extremely tense, a spokesman at the headquarters of the USSR Interior Ministry troops told TASS.

Thus, on November 23, Tskhinvali was massively fired upon from automatic weapons and grenade launchers from the direction of Georgian villages. Like before, servicemen had to return the fire to neutralise weapon emplacements.

However, their legitimate actions to stop the firing are viewed by the Georgian side as assistance to Ossetian militants.

President Zviad Gamsakhurdia of Georgia sent a telegram to the presidents of the USSR and Russia, the USSR Council of State and the Russian parliament, asserting that Interior Ministry troops engage in combat actions against the Georgian population.

The TASS correspondent has learned that the main department of the commander of USSR Interior Ministry troops has prepared a reference report for the addressees mentioned in the Georgian president's telegramme.

The report points out in particular that the Georgian side committed about 50 criminal acts with the use of weapons over the past two months alone, killing nine and injuring more than 20 civilians, destroying and burning down more than 60 houses. From November 10 to 20 alone, there were 34 instances of the seizure of hostages and 14 bodies of people, who were previously reckoned as missing, were found.

In the light of growing confrontation between the conflicting sides, particularly in view of the threat of an armed attack on Tskhinvali, Interior Ministry troops in the state-of-emergency area act exclusively with the aim of ensuring the safety of citizens irrespective of their nationality and disarmaing unlawful groups.

In particular, servicemen seized 503 units of firearms and 151 kilograms of explosives.

Troops remain the only force capable of restraining the escalation of violence to a certain extent. Their withdrawal from the state-of-emergency area, on which the Georgian side insists, would entail a further aggravation of the situation, would give a free hand to militant elements, and make a peaceful resolution of the conflict problematic and practically impossible, the document emphasises.

Ossetians 'To Fight to Bitter End'

PM2511153191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Nov 91 p 1

[S. Karkhanin report: "They Will Fight to the Bitter End. How To Avoid Bloodshed in South Ossetia"]

[Text] "All Georgians capable of bearing arms must join the march on Tskhinvali, the storming begins in the morning of 23 November!" These words have constantly been said at rallies in Tbilisi in the last few days, and it is with these words that all of Z. Gamsakhurdia's speeches and those of his associates, including ministers, begin and end. It appears that the Georgian leaders have decided to fell with one bloody blow the unruly Ossetians who do not want to leave the Union. According to data from the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops Group's Military Intelligence, detachments of gunmen are concentrating around the city, and, according to all indications, are preparing to attack. The curtain may be rising on the last act in the drama of a courageous people who have refused to get down on their knees.

I recall some Ossetian home guards telling me: "If they launch an assault, every building in the city will become a fortress." And they will probably defend their land without sparing themselves. The extremists will have to pay a high price if the armed march on Tskhinvali does take place. The hospitals, the militia, and the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] have all been put on standby. The USSR MVD Internal Troops are also preparing for defensive operations.

"The Georgian leadership's statements are of a clearly provocative nature," G. Khugayev, first deputy chairman of South Ossetia Oblispolkom, says. "However, we must bear in mind that Z. Gamsakhurdia's words and deeds are rarely at variance... Apart from anything else, he intends to intimidate the Ossetians so that as many people as possible leave the oblast. The policy beneath the slogan 'Georgia for the Georgians!' is taking shape for real."

Now nights in Tskhinvali are rarely quiet. As before, surface-to-air missile installations and homemade 100-mm guns are targeting the city from the neighboring mountains. A few days ago, the block where teachers from the local pedagogical institute live was shelled, and one-year-old Ruslan Bestayev was wounded in the head by shrapnel. The ring of the blockade is closing increasingly tightly. The latest tragedy occurred in the "border" village of Tamarasheni: Literally 200 meters from the checkpoint, at the entrance to Tskhinvali, Georgian gunmen shot point-blank at two trucks in transit through South Ossetia, transporting cattle to Armenia. Armenian drivers F. Pakoyan and A. Zakharyan as well as Yu. Vetlich, an Internal Troops officer escorting them, were killed. The Ukrainian lieutenant was only 20 years old...

The date of the invasion was not chosen at random. Exactly two years ago, also 23 November, a convoy of 40,000 people tried to get through to Tskhinvali from the Georgian areas, and its leaders declared their intention to hold a peaceful rally in the city. However, having established that many of the strangers were armed, the citizens did not let them into the streets. Now the peacemaking masks have been cast aside: The Tbilisi politicians are openly calling for butchery.

Who will stop them? The idea of reuniting the Ossetians within the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], which was supported by the South Ossetia Oblast Soviet and the North Ossetia Supreme Soviet, would probably resolve all problems, but so far it has not met with a response in the Russian Parliament. Another way of ending the bloodshed would be to introduce a state of emergency throughout South Ossetia, thus giving the USSR MVD Internal Troops a free hand. But it would be at the very least naive to expect such a step from the Georgian president: Georgian gunmen are carrying out artillery bombardment of Tskhinvali from just beyond the current state-of-emergency zone, and the Tbilisi leaders do not intend to hinder the extremists. The USSR president has the right to adopt the relevant decree, but all appeals to him on this subject have so far remained unanswered.

Admittedly, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet has demanded economic sanctions against Georgia from its government, but it is hard to say to what extent these will materialize. At least, you cannot see any results. Although it is clear that such sanctions, especially if they concern fuel and energy resources, would make it possible to cool down the bellicose fervor of the initiators of the new "crusade against the infidel." Be that as it may, people are still losing their lives in South Ossetia with the quiet connivance of the top echelons of power of the country and the other republics. If the rally speeches of 23 November are not simply a psychological attack, then the carnage on the streets of Tskhinvali will cost thousands more Ossetian and Georgian lives. Then there will be no forgiving all those who pandered to the high-handed extremists and remained inactive.

Hopes being pinned on politicians are decreasing, and there is an increasingly strong belief that only the voice of the peoples themselves, the will of ordinary people, is capable of preventing this crime. "We do not hate our historical brothers and neighbors the Georgians," T. Totoyev, a reader and former frontline fighter from Vladikavkaz, writes to the editorial office. "We have fought shoulder to shoulder against the fascists, so why should we now fight one another? What is more, I believe that Russia will nevertheless speak with authority and defend those who only want one thing—to live in peace on their land. The leaders of the Russian Federation have repeatedly stated that the land belongs to the people who live on it. So let these wise words be followed by specific actions, such as assistance to the long-suffering South Ossetia. When will the power of force finally be replaced by the force of power, and when will those who enjoy the people's trust stop closing their eyes to the tyranny that is going on around them, whose victims are innocent women, old people, and children?"

A fair and perpetual question: How long will this last? Will the question be heard? Meanwhile Tskhinvali is preparing for its defense. According to the oblispolkom, shooting is not ceasing in the villages of Znauri and Prisi. The Ossetian home guards are swearing to fight to the bitter end.

Opposition Holds Rally; Supreme Soviet Meets

LD2511220991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Text] The opposition's protest actions have been the center of the Georgian public's attention yet again. Tengiz Avlotiya reports from Tbilisi:

[Avlotiya] Students began their action at noon by the university. They put forward the following demands: Political prisoners are to be set free and diktat over the press is to be lifted. The rally participants then headed for Government House and gathered just opposite, near the gallery of the House of Artists. By 1800, they had been joined by activists of the National Democratic Party of Georgia. Thus, the opposition is holding a meeting opposite parliament for the first time in almost six months.

Of interest is that the opposition has stepped up its activities on the day that the Supreme Soviet began its work. The session discussed the possibility of starting talks with the Kitovani Guard on the issue of its status. At 1600, a Supreme Soviet delegation left for [word indistinct] to acquaint steadfast members of the guard with parliament's resolution. An opportunity has arisen to reach mutual understanding with them, to give the guard official status, and to include the professional military—which currently refuses to be under government jurisdiction—in establishing calm and stability on the territory of the former South Ossetia.

Citizens Summoned to Government Building

AU2511152491

[Editorial Report] Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian at 1502 GMT on 25 November carries the following announcement: "The opposition has for some unknown reason gathered again at the Supreme Council building. Citizens! We ask all of you to quickly assemble outside the Supreme Council building. I repeat: The opposition has for some unknown reason gathered again at the Supreme Council building. Citizens! We call upon all of you to quickly assemble outside the Supreme Council building."

Attempts To Export Military Property Outlawed

LD2511161691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1346 GMT 25 Nov 91

[By correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 25 November (TASS)—All attempts to take possession of, damage, or export military property of the USSR Armed Forces, which has been declared by decrees of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia to be the property of the republic, will be considered as a crime in Georgia. This has been officially announced by the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers.

The document stresses that until negotiations by the Union bodies on handing over military property to the republic have been completed, no one has the right to touch it, and commanders of formations and units must take all necessary measures to nip in the bud attempts to seize Army and Navy equipment.

The Georgian Cabinet of Ministers said it will guarantee the social protection of servicemen and members of their family and appealed to them to maintain calm.

Removal of Military Vehicles Blocked

PM2511161991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Nov 91 First Edition p 1

[Colonel V. Kaushanskiy report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Pressure at the Barrier"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Georgia has been blockading military vehicle convoys moving out of the republic. An extremely complex situation is shaping up in the Zugdidi area and on the border with Azerbaijan and Armenia. Freight is piling up, including urgent cargoes connected with repairing hardware, equipment, means of communication, and so forth. This situation stems from the Georgian Supreme Council resolution on the formation of a commission to take an inventory of military property belonging to the Soviet Army. This document places an embargo on the removal "abroad" of materiel in the possession of the Transcaucasian Military District [MD]. Transcaucasian MD drivers are currently in a particularly difficult position. Not a day goes by without attempts being made to hijack vehicles on the republic's territory. According to information from the Transcaucasian MD Motor Vehicle Service, 866 trucks have been stolen from the military since 1 January 1991. Of these, 50 have been returned and 815 are currently being sought. That is merely the information available at 21 November.

A GAZ-53 truck delivering bread to the men was seized by persons unknown in the region of the district training center. An official jeep was taken in the Gori Region, and two similar vehicles were stolen at the same time in Akhaltsikhe.

Against this background the request from the Georgian Cabinet of Ministers to the district's leadership to allocate 59 armored transporters and 150-200 trucks of any kind for the republic's State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration and the patrol and post service seems quite strange. This modest request is based on the complex sociopolitical and crime situation, as well as the presence in the republic of destructive forces and illegal armed formations.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Comments on Nuclear Arms, Army Aid

Nuclear Control Discussed

OW2511222691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2032 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev has reiterated that control over nuclear forces must be exercised by all members of the new Union. Mr. Nazarbayev has made such a statement in response to reports about his intention to pull nuclear armaments over to the Islamic world." [no opening quotation marks received]

The statement, circulated by the press service of the Kazakhstan president, also says that only dilettantes could speak about the possibility of moving nuclear weapons to Russia. "Each launching system encompasses an underground complex," the statement says. "To move it to another place is just impossible. In the most modest estimate, such a project might cost from 25 to 30 billion roubles."

Mr. Nazarbayev said that the nuclear testing ground in Semipalatinsk would be turned into a research centre which will serve the interests of science and economy. No more nuclear tests will be run on it, hovever. Since 1949 about 500 nuclear tests have been carried out in Kazakhstan. Until the 1960s nuclear tests had been run in the open. "The Kazakh people have gone through hundreds of tragedies similar to that in Hiroshima," said Mr. Nazarbayev. "Therefore the closure of the testing ground is the implementation of the people's will."

Not 'Second-Class Citizens'

PM2511150191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Nov 91 First Edition p 2

[Report by Colonel A. Ladin: "Nazarbayev: Army Must Be Helped"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—N. Nazarbayev has held a number of election meetings with voters in the eastern and northern oblasts of the republic. In his election program the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] presidential hopeful clearly and precisely sets out a position aimed at defending our country's statehood. We will be able to build a highly developed society, Nursultan Abishevich believes, in a community of sovereign republics, maintaining the single economic area as the general basis for mutually advantageous cooperation.

Naturally, the candidate is also being questioned about Army problems and social and legal protection for servicemen. Addressing voters in Alma-Ata recently, Nursultan Abishevich noted that Armed Forces cuts are giving rise to major difficulties. We must proceed, he stressed, on the basis that our children serve in the Army and we have no moral right to consider them second-class citizens. Local organs of power will attentively examine the position of all servicemen from Kazakhstan, who are in a difficult position not of their own making. We must particularly help officers to build housing.

Henceforth the Army draft in the republic will take place by agreement with the Soviet Defense Ministry. Young men will serve in military construction subunits only on the territory of their native Kazakhstan. At the same time, in Nursultan Nazarbayev's opinion, we must not deprive Kazakhstan's people of the opportunity to serve in airborne assault, Air Force, naval, or missile units.

Political Party Congress Held, Aims Outlined

OW2511170691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1435 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A new political party has been set up in Kazakhstan, called the Democratic Progress of Kazakhstan (Russian abbreviation PDPK). Its founding congress, held yesterday, was attended by 50 delegates from eastern and northern Kazakhstan and Alma-Ata Region. The organizing committee for the party's founding congress was set up on the basis of the Yedinstvo (Unity) movement, formed in August 1990 as an alternative to the Azat (Freedom) civil movement and comprising employees from USSR-owned enterprises.

The organizing committee issued an appeal according to which the main aim of the new party is "to provide political conditions favorable for the formation of a free individual enjoying all rights in a democratic society." The party opposes the policy towards turning Kazakhstan into a one-nation state.

A co-chairperson of Yedinstvo, Yelena Dokuchayeva, said at the congress that, whereas previously "the slogan of national liberation struggle was justifiable in the totalitarian state, it is now being used against the Russians living in Kazakhstan." In this connection, some delegations from eastern and northern regions of the republic proposed that Kazakhstan be turned into a confederation.

Kazakh, Russian Entrepreneurs Conclude Treaty

PM2511145391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent V. Ardayev: "Kazakh and Russian Entrepreneurs Reach Agreement"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—The Kazakh Entrepreneurs Congress has concluded a cooperation treaty and an agreement on the principles of horizontal economic ties with the Russian business circles congress.

The republic's entrepreneurs congress was set up in Alma-Ata a few weeks ago. Its organizers intend that it should be a direct channel linking businessmen with the institutions of power—the president, parliament, and government of Kazakhstan. In addition, its functions include legal protection for businessmen, the coordination of enterprise development, and cadre training. It also aspires to the right of legislative initiative. The congress considers its most important task to be arranging business contacts with various entrepreneurial structures outside the republic—for the purpose of preserving the single economic space. It is in the area of realizing this task that joint documents have been signed with Russian business circles.

Kyrgyzstan

Economic Agreement Signed With Lithuania

LD2311094191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1136 GMT 22 Nov 91

[By TASS correspondent Natalya Voroshilova]

[Text] Bishkek, 22 Nov (TASS)—An agreement on trade and economic cooperation for 1992 between the governments of Lithuania and Kyrgyzstan was signed today in the capital of this Central Asian republic.

The Baltic partners continue to be interested in sheep's wool and some machinery. Kyrgyzstan will be supplied with Lithuanian technology, furniture, polythene, and a number of other goods. In the future, both sides plan to extend the list of mutual deliveries, accounts for which will be kept in rubles at agreed prices.

Tajikistan

Further on Nabiyev's Election as President

Election Malpractices Protested

LD2511114991

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 0738 GMT on 25 November carries a four-minute report by correspondent Muzafar Majidov from Dushanbe on the 24 November presidential elections in Tajikistan. Majidov says 2,203,000 people voted, a turnout of 84.6 percent. The highest turnout, 98.7 percent, was registered in Gorno-Badakhshan autonomous oblast. Next came Leninabad Oblast with 93 percent. The lowest turnout, 63.8 percent, was in Dushanbe. Ballot papers carried the names of seven candidates; 10 were registered with the republican election commission, but three withdrew. He notes that provisional results are still not available, as returns have not been received from a number of districts.

Majidov says: "I have just come back from a news conference given by Davlat Khudonazarov, one of the presidential candidates. In my hands I have a copy of a protest he has sent to the Tajik Supreme Soviet and the Central Election Commission. Voting at many polling stations showed that most of the electorate and officials charged with conducting the election in accordance with the republic's presidential election law were completely unprepared for the election, he says. There is considerable evidence that the election law was broken. On election day all these violations were reported to constituency commissions and the Central Election Commission. Some of the evidence has been recorded by observers and video cameras. Documents in our possession, the protest continues, confirm the following typical violations of the law: Citizens voted in the absence [words indistinct]; ballot papers were issued to voters who did not produce identification; campaigning was allowed on election day; pressure was applied on voters; observers and representatives of parties and movements were barred from polling stations and prevented from attending the count; and more. In view of all this, I am lodging an official protest and asking the Central Election Commission to declare the results of the election null and void. That is what Khudonazarov says in his protest. Davlat Khudonazarov then thanks his supporters through the mass media and calls on them to exercise restraint and stay calm."

Majidov concludes by noting that provisional results are expected in three or four hours.

Inauguration Set

LD2511194191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The official inauguaration of the president will take place at the forthcoming session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan, when Rakhmon Nabiyev will be sworn in under the traditional presidential oath and speak on his program to stabilize the socio-economic situation in the republic.

Uzbekistan

Solidary Foreign Debt Responsibility Opposed

PM2611103191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Nov 91 Single Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent A. Kaipbergenov: "'Swedish Table' Too Expensive"]

[Text] Tashkent—Why has no Uzbek representative signed the memorandum on solidary responsibility for the USSR's foreign debt?

We oppose solidary responsibility for the foreign debt, Sh.R. Mirsaidov, the republic's vice president, stated at a meeting with a group of foreign journalists. Today only a few components of the former Union have a real export and currency potential. Uzbekistan is not only prepared but has the potential to extinguish the debt, while at the same time not wishing to be responsible for the debts of others. But to this day mutually acceptable criteria for determining the share of each republic have not even been elaborated. The vice president said that at the last meeting with representatives of the "big seven" a new figure was heard for the total volume of the USSR's foreign debt—over $100 billion. It is perplexing that debts to the Soviet Union have for a little while now, by a decree of the USSR president, come under the jurisdiction of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

Ministry Denies Birlik Party Registration

OW2611004291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2032 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [25 November], the Collegium of Uzbekistan's Ministry of Justice denied registration to the Birlik Party, motiving its decision by the fact that earlier a popular movement with the same name had been registered.

Co-Chairman of the Birlik Party, Abdurakhim Pulatov, believes that "the authorities were doing everything they could to prevent the opposition forces from joining presidential elections."

According to the republic's laws, the nongovernmental movement, Birlik, cannot propose its candidate for presidential election, while the party with the same name, which could secure such a right, has been denied registration.

Mufti Intends Not To Run for Presidency

OW2611003591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2032 GMT 25 Nov 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Muslim Board of Central Asia, Mufti Muhammad Sadiq, does not intend to run for presidency in Uzbekistan, Vice Chairman of the Muslim Board, Zakyjan Kadyrov, told IF [INTERFAX]. Commenting on the rumours about Muhammad Sadiq's candidature being proposed for election, Mr. Kadyrov said that "In some places, believers are collecting signatures in the Mufti's support of their own accord." The Mufti has rejected all offers to join the election campaign and "does not want to participate in political games," said Mr. Kadyrov.